FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ALADI CONCLUDES 5-DAY MEETING IN ACAPULCO

PA280032 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0400 GMT 27 Jul 86

[Text] Acapulco, 26 Jul (EFE) -- Today in Acapulco ALADI agreed to increase the regional preferential tariff to a maximum of 10 percent and rejected the Mexican Government's proposal to reduce import taxes by 60 percent, thereby allowing protectionism to continue dominating regional markets. For 5 days representatives of the governments of the 11 countries that are members of ALADI (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela) met in Acapulco to seek new instruments for economic and commercial integration in the area.

The final report, unanimously approved, states that the 10 percent regional preferential tariff, to be implemented on 27 April 1987, includes giving different treatment to the nations with lower relative economic development, especially the Mediterranean [as received] countries. The report also adds that the member-countries agreed to carry out negotiations to eliminate the nontariff restrictions being applied to imports from the region, as well as to establish rules and standards to strengthen the list of open markets that grant exclusive licenses [concesiones] that would favor the growth of their exports.

Supported by Argentina and Brazil, Mexico suggested to the members of ALADI a 60-percent reduction of the regional import taxes in order to achieve a total opening of the Latin American market and the reactivation of trade among the countries of the area. Apparently the countries whose economies are the most depressed opposed this idea and claimed that the absolute release of commercial exchange, especially in basic products, would place their productive and export systems at a disadvantage in regard to the three large countries of the region.

The document approved by the association, a day later than expected, states that the 11 members agreed to promote a regional plan to replace imports, promote the recovery and expansion of regional trade, diminish the exchange imbalance, increase the value of reciprocal trade by 40 percent at the end of a 3-year-period, 1987 to 1989, and maintain its expansion. For its implementation each country will present, no later that 15 October, a list of the products they import from third countries that represent 30 percent of the total value of their foreign purchases from those countries.

Regarding the creation of a unit of account for the region to obtain its liquidity in an autonomous fashion and remove the dollar [desdolarice] from its economy, the report explains that ALADI will draft a plan to create a regional unit of account that will be used basically for financing the balance owed resulting from the multilateral compensation of the agreement for reciprocal payment and loans that the 11 central banks of the member countries maintain.

ALFONSIN WELCOMES BRAZIL'S SARNEY AT AIRPORT

PY282000 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1527 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Jul (TELAM) -- Upon the arrival of Brazilian President Jose Sarney at the Buenos Aires metropolitan airport, President Raul Alfonsin said that never before in the history of our two nations have we shared so many common national objectives as we do today. Alfonsin said that these objectives are shown in our will to define an overall policy of economic growth. This is part of the message that Alfonsin read at the metropolitan airport. The following is the text of that message:

"In the name of the Argentine people I hereby express our pleasure in welcoming your excellency. We extend to you our cordial, fraternal and warm greetings.

"All the national sectors have witnessed with pleasure the evolution of Brazilian politics, which has consecrated the full enforcement of freedom and democracy in your great country.

"This political transformation was carried out with your guidance, your excellency. You are a man whom the international community recognizes as a great statesman.

"Your excellency has conducted with extreme prudence, with courage and determination the political life and destiny of Brazil.

"Mr President: In the name of the Argentine people, I want to take this opportunity to thank you for the message you sent to the Argentine people. This message, which was broadcast by the Argentine media, moved all Argentine men and women.

"I would also like to tell you that the Argentine people are awaiting with great expectation the results of our negotiations because they are aware of the historic significance of this visit.

"Through your visit we shall be able to implement, through specific and positive actions, the economic integration and cooperation program between the Republic of Argentine and the Federative Republic of Brazil, a desire that was expressed in the Iguazu Declaration.

"In Iguazu, we were able to see for ourselves that our two countries are fraternally united in their practice of peace, freedom, justice and democracy; as well as in their scrupulous implementation of human rights. All this unites us and allows us to visualize a common future.

"Never before in the history of our two nations have we shared as many common objectives as we do today. This is evidence of our will to define an overall policy for economic growth.

"During the months that preceeded your visit, our governments have worked intensely to define those policies that would allow us to take the first step toward achieving the economic integration of our two nations.

"Our countries agree that economic growth must be based on the social development of our communities and that all our joint efforts within this context must seek to achieve the well-being our two nations. We are experiencing unprecedented times in our bilateral relations. Through permanent consultations we have developed a fluid dialogue, coordinating positions on joint initiatives at the bilateral, regional, and international levels, as is evident from the agreements that we have achieved and in our joint work in various international forums.

"Mr President: We must confront today's problems and future challenges. The present international situation imposes on us limitations such as recession, the unpredictability of the financial system, the burden of the servicing of the foreign debts that loom over our economies, and the deterioration of terms of trade. All this brings us closer together and places us on the path that will allow us to find our own solutions as is shown through the original answers with which Brazil and Argentina are successfully meeting the establishment of our economic systems.

"In the same manner, the crisis affecting our region is showing us the need to deepen those mechanisms that lead to the consolidation of an integration process.

"We share a common destiny in which we are determined to have a protagonistic role.

"I want to reassert my pleasure in welcoming your excellency and the distinguished members of your entourage and to say that I am certain that your visit will allow us to strengthen the ties of friendship that unite our two countries and that together we shall be able to implement the commitment we have made to guide our efforts, to be able to grow together, and thus to be able to confront the challenges of the 21st century together. Welcome to Argentina, Mr President."

Sarney Responds

PY281526 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1406 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Jul (TELAM) -- Upon his arrival in Argentina, Brazilian President Jose Sarney today said that an atmosphere of friendship and great expectations surround his visit.

In response to the wlecoming speech speech delivered by Argentine President Alfonsin, Sarney said at the metropolitan airport that these repeated meetings enrich a friendship which he considers a privilege and through which it has been possible to achieve the integration of the two countries.

Sarney described the present meeting as a meeting for the construction of something new, and he said that this makes us all participants in that "fervor of Buenos Aires" that was described by Borges. He added that our nations are rediscovering their deepest identities. We are today united as never before, and today we are sharing opportunities as never before.

ALFONSIN SEES NEED FOR L.A. COMMON MARKET

PY281955 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1736 GMT 27 Jul 86

[Text] General Villegas, 27 Jul (TELAM) -- President Raul Alfonsin has said that Latin America shares not only languages and history, it also shares problems which condemn us to stagnation and backwardness, but it also holds a common future for which we want to find different paths and formulas.

The chief of state made this statement from the city hall balcony in town of General Villegas, northeast Buenos Aires Province, while presiding over the celebration of the district's 100th anniversary. The president addressed a large crowd of people concentrated in the Conrado Villegas square in front of the city hall.

The local mayor, Alberto Ballari, and acting Buenos Aires Province Governor Elva Roulet addressed the public before President Alfonsin.

Alfonsin said that together with Brazil and Uruguay, we have started to carefully and conscienciously plan a common Latin American market, so that we will all know that within our great Latin American nation we can find real possibilities for our development and the consolidation of social justice.

He called for a joint effort to increase production and end speculation, thus avoiding financial chaos. This effort, he said, would start consolidating Argentina's possibility for a democratic and free system.

Alfonsin also said that we must find, as we did 100 years ago, the way to reconcile all Argentines, without distinction, to try to consolidate this democracy and justice, so that everyone will get what he deserves based on his efforts. It must be understood that the poorest sectors, which have made the greatest efforts, should be rewarded by society.

Alfonsin said that Latin American integration is not just a convenience but an absolute necessity which, thank God, has been understood by the people of brother nations, and we are now seeking together the political solutions that will strengthen and guarantee peace, such as the Contadora Group initiative. Sometimes when seeking other types of economic and social solutions the creditor countries choose to regard the foreign debt from a political viewpoint, such as the case of the Cartagena Consensus.

He added that we Latin American presidents will meet to try to convince everyone that it is necessary to have economic elbow room in today's world. He also mentioned that we must visit the socialist countries because Argentina has matured and does not fear talking with anyone.

Alfonsin stated that we must struggle to regain Argentina's place in the world, no longer seeking a new port from where we can ship our raw materials in the search for European markets. We must diversify those markets and our exports. We must work together to regain Argentina's place in the world. He said that we want to achieve this and feel the people's support, first in our search for Argentina's traditional place in Latin America, and also with the United States and Europe, always pointing out the need to find a new international economic order that would bring universal justice, which is the only guarantee for universal peace.

President Alfonsin was speaking at a luncheon attended by 4,500 people at a privately owned cereal plant.

AIRLINE RESUMES DOMESTIC FLIGHTS 26 JULY

PY261905 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1302 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 26 Jul (TELAM) -- Aerolineas Argentinas this morning resumed its domestic flights with only minor changes in established schedules. For the first time since the lengthy stoppage by the pilots trade union organization, all the flights are being handled by Aerolineas Argentinas personnel.

The airline's information office today announced that today's service includes 39 flights, 17 of them already scheduled as part of the emergency schedule being operated by LADE [State Airlines] personnel and 21 [as received] additional flights [passage omitted]

U.S. TROOPS, GENERAL CONSULTATION CAUSE UNREST

PY252004 Paris AFP in Spanish 1458 GMT 25 Jul 86

[By Eduardo Paz]

[Excerpt] La Paz, 25 Jul (AFP) -- Local experts remarked today that the presence in Bolivia of U.S. troops fighting drug traffic in the northeast and the general consultation aimed at learning the people's opinion about government economic policies has exacerbated social unrest throughout Bolivia. Several Army light tanks on the streets, the stepping up of security measures near Government House, and planes flying at low altitude have awakened concern among the population of the capital.

The labor leaders were the first to react. Juan Lechin Oquendo, top leader of the Bolivian Labor Confederation (COB), said here today that the Bolivian people must state their positin on the need to defend the fatherland and oppose the impositions of imperialists. Lechin Oquendo stressed that the Bolivian workers oppose the presence of U.S. troops in the northeast, the government's decision to pay the foreign debt, and the new tax law.

Lechin Oquendo added that the current government, violating the Constitution, has asked the U.S. imperialists to send their Army to invade us and to set up military bases under the pretext of an antinarcotics campaign, thus allowing the U.S. Army to conduct secret operations on Bolivian territory.

Lechin went on to say that the arrival of 160 U.S. soldiers, several helicopters, and sophisticated equipment imply the collapse of the national state, a genocide against the Bolivian people, and the enslavement of the nation's sovereignty.

As for the general consultation that is taking place throughout the country today, Lechin said that the people have the democratic right to voice their opinion on main issues such as the foreign debt and tax reform. According to Lechin the new tax law is a mechanism to obtain funds from the Bolivian people and send this money to industrial countries in keeping with the slave mentality personified by President Victor Paz Estenssoro. [passage omitted]

Plague Blamed on U.S. Army

PY281725 Paris AFP in Spanish 0530 GMT 25 Jul 86

[By Oscar Paz]

[Excerpt] For thousands of years coca leaves have been free from diseases. Today, however, they are being attacked and destroyed by an insect that is locally called sica. Some people have jokingly wondered whether this insect could be to coca what AIDS is to man. The fact is that the sica, a lepidopteran insect, has invaded thousands of hectares of land in the Chapare region (in Central Bolivia) and has destroyed coca leaves, which were regarded as sacred by the Incas. This butterfly-shaped insect is essentially a sucker that weakens the coca stems and destroys its leaves slowly by absorbing its sap.

Peasants have found it strange that the coca tree, which is a very resistant tropical plant, is being attacked and destroyed by such a little-known insect. Some people believe that U.S. Army personnel could have introduced this insect during the joint military exercises held in April-May in order to destroy the nearly 40,000 hectares of coca plantations in the region.

Hugo Zelada, director for vegetal health of the Campesino Affairs Ministry, has denied these rumors and has said that this insect has appeared from time to time and that its population is directly related to the size of the crop. He added that it is just a coincidence that the plague has appeared while U.S. military personnel are in the country. [passage omitted]

Campaign Temporarily Suspended

PY280325 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2326 GMT 27 Jul 86

[Text] Santa Cruz del Sierra, 27 Jul (EFE) -- The antidrug trafficking actions that were being carried out in this eastern Bolivian district, east of La Paz, have been temporarily suspended by order of the Interior Ministry. It was said that this measure was adopted to allow an evaluation of the achievement obtained in so far.

The most import event of this campaign was the arrest of 13 Bolivian citizens, a Chilean, and an Argentine on 17 July. These 15 persons, accused of drug trafficking, are being investigated, and it is thought that the results will be known in a month.

Meanwhile, it was announced in La Paz that Interior Under Secretary Guido Meruvia will arrive in Santa Cruz on 28 July. It was reported that Meruvia will hold meetings with the Santa Cruz antidrug-trafficking police and district authorities.

U.S. Troop Withdrawal Demanded

PY281658 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Text] A note signed by more than 50 labor leaders, university professors, and deans of various universities was released a few hours ago demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Bolivia. Those who signed the document express their resolve to resort to all constitutional means possible to reestablish national dignity. The signatures, which are headed by that of Juan Lechin, express the agreement of the leftist groups to oppose U.S. intervention in the fight against drug trafficking.

MINING GROUP 'FRUSTRATED' AT U.S. ANTIMONY SALES

PY261419 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] The response of the U.S. diplomatic mission concerning antimony sales by the "General Services Administration" [in English] has frustrated the National Mining Chamber, which had planned to petition the government of Ronald Reagan requesting suspension of the sales. The U.S. response confirms an article published in the May 1986 issue of the publication METALS WEEK, which reported the sale of the mineral reserves.

The National Mining Chamber has insisted that negotiations be conducted with the White House and the U.S. Congress, noting that the General Services Administration is just a decentralization agency with no decision-making power to sell or not to sell its reserves.

Given this situation the National Mining Chamber is insisting on a specific official response both in Bolivia and in the United States.

The private mining group will continue negotiating the suspension of the sale of antimony and tungsten reserves.

SARNEY, ENTOURAGE LEAVE FOR BUENOS AIRES

PY281409 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Text] President Jose Sarney is already traveling to Buenos Aires. He left the Brasilia Air Base at 0655, after having transferred the Presidency to Senator Jose Fragelli, president of the Senate.

[Begin Reporter Glaucio Veloso relay] President Jose Sarney and the delegation that will accompany him during his 3-day visit to Buenos Aires have boarded their plane here at the Brasilia Air Base. Sarney transferred his office a few minutes ago, and Senate President Jose Fragelli is now acting president.

Sarney's trip to Argentina has been organized by the Sarney and Alfonsin administrations with great pomp. The two countries intend to assume internationally the commitments recently made in the Cruzado and Austral Plans. The two nations will also take advantage of their historic transition to democracy to revamp their bilateral relations, which have been very limited over the past 20 years. During their meeting, the two South American presidents will sign agreements on the purchase of wheat by Brazil; the creation of a buffer foodstuff stock to complement supply; the complementation of the machinery industry; the creation of binational enterprises; the financing of reciprocal payments; and cooperation in the energy area, particularly in the areas of gas and oil, as well as the expansion of bilateral trade.

The two governments will basically act as regulators of these agreements because the initiatives will be essentially taken by private groups. For that reason, 100 businessmen chosen by Itamaraty are traveling to Buenos Aires with President Sarney. Although Uruguayan President Julio Sanguinetti will participate in the meetings in Argentina, no agreement involving Uruguay will be signed.

The Brazilian ministers of foreign affairs, justice, finance, agriculture, education, industry and commerce, and the chief of the Armed Forces General Staff are accompanying President Sarney on his visit to Argentina, along with congressmen, representatives of state enterprises, and others. [end relay]

LAND REFORM BILL BENEFITS MORE FAMILIES

PY282033 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Excerpts] The new land reform package signed by President Sarney yesterday expropriated land in 12 states. The new expropriation will benefit 5,217 families and will mostly affect the states where there are conflicts over land, as in the case of Parana, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, and the Bico do Papagaio region. This land reform package was signed yesterday by President Sarney after a 4-hour meeting on 26 July with Land Reform Minister Dante de Oliveira.

The greatest number of properties have been expropriated in Para State, where a total of 11 properties will be used to settle 473 families. Minister Dante de Oliveira has commented on how these families will be settled and has guaranteed that there are sufficient funds to implement the land reform. [passage omitted]

With this new package, President Sarney's government has made a total of 250 expropriations involving 250,000 hectares. Eight thousand families are in the process of being settled, while 40,000 other families are waiting their turn.

FUNARO DISCUSSES PAYMENT OF FOREIGN DEBT

PY280338 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1647 GMT 27 Jul 86

[Text] Sao Paulo, 27 Jul (EFE) -- Finance Minister Dilson Funaro has announced that the Brazilian Government will modify the payment conditions of its $103-billion foreign debt. The changes in his foreign economic policy are connected with the payment of $31 billion pending on interests and capital.

Funaro told reporters that the renegotiation of the $31 billion started after Brazil managed to reach an agreement with the committee of creditor banks in New York for the rescheduling of the debt in arrears. Funaro said he considered reaching this agreement a success, because Brazil has thus managed to stop being controlled by the IMF. He pointed out that Brazila obtained from the creditor banks a 1.125-percent spread [tasa de riesgo], the lowest ever obtained by a debtor country, except for Mexico. In conclusion, the finance minister said that "Brazil can no longer continue sending 5 percent of its GDP abroad only to pay debts with the creditor banks."

SOUTH AFRICA'S TUTU MAY VISIT 'IN EARLY 1987'

PY251852 Paris AFP in Spanish 2208 GMT 24 Jul 86

[Text] Brasilia, 24 Jul (AFP) -- A Foreign Ministry communique published today in Brasilia states that the Brazilian Government has officially invited Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize laureate and the primate of the South African Angelican Church, to visit Brazil. The source reported that Archbishop Tutu has accepted the invitation and might travel to Brazil in early 1987. The communique states that this official invitation is part of the Brazilian Government's policy of condemning the detestable apartheid regime and expressing solidarity with the South African patriots who are struggling to establish a more just society in South Africa without the stigma of racism.

SURVEILLANCE CONTINUES ON BOLIVIAN BORDER

PY270319 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1625 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Porto Velho, 26 Jul (EFE) -- Federal Police Director Romeu Tuma has said that cocaine has become the normal "currency" for stolen car transactions along the Bolivian-Brazilian border. Tuma has observed the main areas along the Bolivian-Brazilian border, where the Army and police have reinforced surveillance to prevent the escape of drug traffickers, who are being pursued by Bolivian-U.S. military forces. Tuma revealed that thieves quote prices on cars stolen in Brazil, in kilograms of cocaine and that Bolivians go to the border to buy the stolen cars. Tuma is convinced that the drug traffickers who operate in Bolivia have not entered Brazilian territory. He added that the Brazilian and U.S. Governments have begun talks to sign a new antidrug agreement, because the existing accord will expire in March. The Brazilian Armed Forces and military police, who are closely following the antidrug operation under way in the Bolivian jungle along the Brazilian border, are trying to prevent Bolivian traffickers from entering Brazilian territory.

FURTHER EYEWITNESS REPORT ON TORCHING CASE

PY251748 Santiago ANALISIS in Spanish 22-28 Jul 86 pp 21, 22, 23

[By Patricia Collyer]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Last week eyewitnesses told Judge Echavarria what they saw on 2 July. ANALISIS interviewed one of them just after he gave his testimony. Frightened, he asked to remain anonymous, "because not even by family knows about the nightmare I have been through," J said.

J is a worker who was walking to his job along 8 de Enero Street, near the corner of General Velazquez Street, on 2 July. "Suddenly, someone told me that it seemed some youngsters had been detained. So I walked quickly to see if I knew them. I went down Velazquez Street, and as I reached Hernan Rungue Street I heard shouts, desperate cries. I though that the detained individuals were probably being beaten there so I stopped behind a lamp post on that corner and watched. It was horrible because there were 2 youths standing, burning, surrounded by some 30 military men. I saw a military truck with a canvass top, and two pickup trucks, also military, one blue and the other cream-colored. The men in the truck wore caps, and those in the pickup trucks wore helmuts. I stood still and could hardly breathe. They did not see me, but I saw them. And I saw what they were doing. It was like a celebration, they seemed to enjoy the show; some laughed while the youths were burning alive. I felt terribly desperate and helpless, and I thought: What can I do alone? At that moment, another girl who lives in the neighborhood appeared, and I told her: 'Look how these bastards are burning those youngsters!' I thought it would have been better to kill them than to make them suffer that way."

He went on: "The girl who had arrived left horrified, and at that moment they saw me. The one who seemed to be the chief, because he gave everyone orders, saw me and shouted: 'Run, you son of a bitch! Or do you want me to kill you too? He was wearing a military cap and over it a black cap with ear flaps like that of the 'Chavo del 8' [Mexican television series character]. I reacted and crossed the street. I continued to observe for a little longer. I was not the only one, because, since there were no buses that day, many people had gathered at the bus stop. The people at the kiosk also saw everything, but no one knew what to do. They were shocked." He added that later the burning youths fell to the ground, and some military men brought a blanket from the truck and wrapped them. "I could see how the truck backed up so that they could lift the woman's body onto it. I did not see where they threw the young man." J said he tried to tell a priest what he had seen but "could not find one. Then I left for work. When I returned that afternoon, I heard that the girl was Carmen Gloria, whom I knew. When Rodrigo died, I decided to overcome my fear and present myself as a witness."

J said that at the court, Judge Echavarria asked him why he was sure that the ones he had seen were military men. "All I could say was that 'it was obvious because of the truck and the weapons.' Besides, I have been in the Army and know the military vehicles and weapons. And how many times have we seen them in the shantytowns during protest days!" But, he concluded, "the judge did not seem to pay much attention to what I said. He would forget what I said and make me repeat the same things over and over again." [passage omitted]

Civic Assembly Statement

PY262108 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1853 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Santiago, 26 Jul (EFE) -- The National Civic Assembly [ANC] today released a statement charging that "the decisions issued by the courts are indredible" and that "the three branches of government are in a deep and irreversible crisis." The statement was read by acting ANC Coordinator Dr Ricardo Vacarezza.

Fourteen members of the board of the ANC, an opposition organization, have been in jail for 3 weeks. The government holds then responsible for the general strike of 2 and 3 July and for the 8 deaths and approximately 100 injuries which occurred during the stoppage.

The ANC statement refers to the latest events, particularly the cases of youths Rodrigo Rojas and Carmen Gloria Quintana who, according to eyewitnesses and relatives, were beaten and burned by an Army patrol. Rojas died, and Quintana remains in serious condition.

The statement also refers to a recent resolution by special Judge Alberto Echavarria, who released 24 of the 25 Armed Forces members who had been placed at his disposal for their alleged responsibility in the cases of the youths. The judge decided to prosecute only the patrol commander on charges of manslaughter (omission or negligence). The judge also passed jurisdiction of the case to the military courts.

"One needs no words to express the feelings of horror in the country, at least of civilians," the ANC statement says. "To burn a human being, no matter how or to what degree, is a crime against humanity that shocks our conscience," the statement concludes.

JAILED CIVIC ASSEMBLY LEADERS RELEASE LETTER

PY272157 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2130 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Santiago, 26 Jul (EFE) -- The 14 National Civic Assembly [ANC] leaders who have been in jail for 3 weeks today released a "letter to Chileans," in which they say that "Chile stands on the tragic threshold of war or peace." In their letter, which is addressed to both civilians and the military, the ANC leaders state that "we must assume our responsibility and give the contribution that our fatherland demands from us in this dramatic hour." They add that "this is the time for each and every one of us to assume his responsibility and take the path leading to freedom in each neighborhood, village, and shantytown."

The members of the ANC, the largest opposition organization created since the coup of 11 September 1973, when General Augusto Pinochet took power, are being held responsible for the general stoppage of 2 and 3 July and for the incidents in which 8 people died and some 100 were wounded. The charges were leveled by the government. In their letter, the ANC leaders state that "this letter was written inside the prison with a feeling that we know you are sharing with us: Our fatherland is being destroyed."

"All of us have been bewildered by unemployment, starvation, misery, the unanswered situation of the missing detainees, the systematic vilation of our dignity, and the horror caused by the barbarous burning of two youths at the hands of Chilean citizens.

"When will our capacity to be astonished become exhausted? What other crimes are necessary for us to assume responsibility for our own future?

"There has been a systematic effort to destroy the spirit of solidarity of our people. Today Chile stands at the tragic threshold of war or peace.

"And this conflict demands our reaction now!

"It is essential that no more crimes occur in our country, that no more imprisonments of innocent people take place without being met by our call which will continue until they are free; that no more Chileans starve to death, or whole families be destroyed without a hand being lifted to held. We must change this unfair situation."

WOMEN MARCHING TO NUNCIATURE ARRESTED, RELEASED

PY251957 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1433 GMT 25 Jul 86

[Text] Santiago, 25 Jul (EFE) -- Nearly 60 people, most of them women, who were arrested in the Chilean capital while marching toward the apostolic nunciature to deliver a "letter addressed to the pope" were set free this morning. Known as the "Women for Life" movement, the group of hundreds of women went yesterday, Thursday, to 11 de Septiembre Avenue. From there they marched toward the apostolic nunciature with lit candles, forming a chain of candles on that important Santiago avenue.

While groups of women attempted to reach the nunciature, others changed the traffic signs, "renaming" the avenue named for the day General Pinochet took power to "4 de Septiembre Avenue," after the day on which, every 6 years, Chileans traditionally went to the polls to choose the president of the republic. The demonstrators were pushed back by Carabineros using water cannons and tear-gas canisters. The group of leaders of the "Women for Life" movement managed to make it to the nunciature and deliver their "letter to the pope," in which they denounced "what is happening in Chile, which has culminated in the torching of two youths, and the harassment and arrest of trade union and student leaders," one of the signatories explained. Nearly 30 people were arrested around the apostolic nunciature building.

SANTIAGO ARCHBISHOPRIC CONDEMNS BOMB ATTACK

PY261834 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] The Santiago Archbishopric has expressed amazement and repugnance at last night's terrorist attack in the downtown Almeda Avenue. The Santiago Archbishopric this morning stated its amazement and deep repugnance at the terrorist attack that occured last night in downtown Santiago. As is known, that cowardly and criminal attack caused injuries to several dozen innocent and peaceful people, who were waiting for buses at the busy corner of Alameda and Teatinos Street.

The Santiago Archbishopric has released a short statement on the event which says: In view of the worrisome situation of violence affecting our country, this Archbishopric repeats its urgent call for an end to such terrorist actions, and for sincere efforts to achieve the social peace all Chileans are hoping for.

Santiago Cardinal Archbishop Juan Francisco Fresno made an appeal to the Supreme Court to use all necessary means to reach a successful conclusion of its investigations, among which is the case of the two youths burned on 2 July during the peaceful protest staged by the self-styled National Civic Assembly.

VEGA URIBE URGES END TO VIOLENCE, TERRORISM

PA280036 Bogota Cadena Radial Super in Spanish 1730 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Defense Minister General Miguel Vega Uribe has said that the country is tired of so much violence and terrorism and has decided to cooperate with the military forces to guarantee security, the institutional order of the country, and the tranquillity of the Colombians.

The high-ranking officer referred to the death of the well-known guerrilla leader of the M-19, Gustavo Arias Londono, alias "Boris," and said that he who sows violence will meet a violent death, as was the case with this subversive element who caused the most deaths within the police and Army.

Vega Uribe said that peace is everyone,s goal the Armed Forces are not the sole preservers of peace. It is actually a commitment of all well-intentioned people who want to see progress and brotherly love in their nation.

The minister of defense visited Cali, where he accompanied President Belisario Betancur to the ceremonies marking the 450th anniversary of the founding of the capital of Valle Del Cauca Department and visited some sectors where the Army has been conducting public works to help the community. Cali has been a target of violence and guerrilla action.

POLICE RECOVER STOLEN DYNAMITE, SUSPECT M-19

PA270035 Bogota Cadena Radial Super in Spanish 1730 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Cali -- Several operations are being conducted by the authorities in various regions of El Valle Department to arrest the people responsible for the theft of 80 boxes of dynamite -- 75 of which were recently recovered by the police.

The dynamite had been stolen from a cement factory, reportedly by M-19 members this situation provoked concern in the Armed Forces, given the use that might be made of the dynamite. The rebel organization recently announced a series of attacks on military installations in various regions of the country.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO ISRAEL -- Lazar Gilinski, the new Colombian ambassador to Israel, has presented his credentials to Israeli President Hayim Herzog. [Summary] [Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 17 Jul 86 p 11 C PA]

NEW CHILEAN AMBASSADOR -- Alvaro Salvadores has been appointed new Chilean ambassador to Colombia. [Summary] [Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 18 Jul 86 p 8 A PA]

NEW AMBASSADORS -- The following ambassadors have presented their credentials to President Belisario Betancur: Javier Pulgar-Vidal of Peru, Saoud Bin Salim Bin Hassan Al-Asi of Oman; and Joussef Fassi Fihri of Morocco. [Excerpt] [Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 11 Jul 86 p 8 A PA]

DEFENSE MINISTER DISCUSSES TALKS WITH GELBARD

PY252010 Asuncion EL DIARIO in Spanish 24 Jul 86 p 13

[Text] The defense minister, Division General Gaspar German Martinez, said at the palace yesterday, in response to a question about the meeting with Department of State envoy Robert Gelbard: "We have not requested military support from the United States."

Gen Martinez had attended a meeting of the National Council of Economic Coordination. At the end of the session the minister said, in reply to a question, that no new proposals have been made to the United States in the field of military cooperation.

"Is there a need for more support?" the minister was asked. He replied:

"No, no. He didn't promise anything, and we did not ask for anything."

"Did Gelbard show any particular concern?" the minister was then asked. He answered:

"No, he just asked about the present condition of the Armed Forces and nothing else."

"What is the extent of U.S. cooperation in military matters?" he was asked. He said:

"From $50,000 to $70,000 annually. It is for English-language instruction and for electronic equipment. Nothing more. That is all the aid," concluded Gen Martinez.

Reactions to Visit

PY280219 [Editorial Report] Asuncion HOY in Spanish on 23 July on page 8 carries a 100-word item on statements by Miguel Abdon Saguier, political secretary for the Authentic Radical Liberal Party [PLRA] on the visit to Paraguay by U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South America Robert S. Gelbard. Abdon Saguier stated that Gelbard's visit "is probably the most important political event of the month," and that according to what Gelbard told him "he brings a clear message from the U.S. people's and President Reagan's stance regarding democracy and human rights." But Saguier noted that "if we, Paraguayan citizens ourselves, do not carry out our political opening, no foreign stance is of any use to us.

A 600-word HOY editorial entitled "A Fraternal Mission," published in the same edition on page 10, notes that Gelbard's visit allows the two countries to review their relations within a "framework of friendship and good intentions." It then notes that Paraguay's development has been greatly helped by U.S. cooperation and that although the two countries have always shared common points of view on international issues "different points of view regarding some issues mainly related to Paraguayan domestic affairs have started to surface in the past few years." Stating that "by tradition, U.S.-Paraguayan relations have been friendly and fruitful," it is hoped that the latest events "will only contribute to strengthening this tradition."

The editorial ends by saying that "the special envoy's visit should be interpreted within that context. That is, as an initiative to identify those obstacles, if they exist, that prevent relations from being maintained at their best level."

Asuncion EL DIARIO in Spanish on 24 July on page 13 in a 450-word item reports that Ruben Stanley, vice president of the Chamber of Deputies, stated that "Robert Gelbard came to the country to try to sound out the opinion of the people, but he will give his final opinion in his country." The Colorado Party deputy also added that "the meeting held here, at the Chamber of Deputies, could not have been more auspicious. He heard what he wanted to hear from the opposition and the government members." Stanley ended by noting that 1 day is not enough to have a good picture of the situation in our country and that "he, naturally, voiced his concern over the situation in our country and even insinuated the need for a greater political opening, but that, of course, is for us to decide."

The same report notes that Education Minister Carlos Ortiz Ramirez said that Gelbard "showed a good disposition regarding our government's policy" and that he believes that the U.S. visitor came with good intentions."

Asuncion newspaper ULTIMA HORA in Spanish on 24 July on page 10 carries a 350-word item on statements by Senator Manuel Frutos Pane, member of the Colorado Party Executive Board, who said that "Mr Gelbard took the wrong end of the stick, failing to refer to the main issue, that is to the pluralist democratic process and the Paraguayan citizens' right to vote freely." He goes on to state that Gelbard did not take into account the sociopolitical changes, as well as the economic growth which the country is experiencing, and referred only to isolated events which have been distorted by the opposition, which seeks support from abroad. Frutos ends by stating that this gentleman seems to have come to inform himself through those who are opposing the government through an internal and international campaign. However, "some of Mr Gelbard's statements reveal that his general impression of Paraguay is good, with some exceptions."

Asuncion LA TARDE in Spanish on 24 July on page 8 carries a 450-word editorial entitled "Gelbard Mission: Expected Results," praising the U.S. government's initiative to appoint such a distinguished person to visit Paraguay to jointly review the two countries' relations. The editorial then states that on this occasion Gelbard had the opportunity to meet with all sectors and voices its hope that "with these objective elements, the relations between the two nations will be able to move toward a better coexistence, under common principles and interests on regional and international issues." The editorial points out that the surfacing of disagreements is only natural in such a long relationship, where "one cannot always expect common criteria and objectives," noting that the important thing is the will to overcome disagreements through frank dialogue. The editorial hopes that this frank dialogue "between national authorities and U.S. representatives took place during Gelbard's visit to Paraguay" and that they will "result in the improvement of the fraternal understanding that has existed for many years between the two countries." It ends by stating that the results will not be spectacular, but that it is "certain that clear and firm grounds have been established to give the mutual friendship and cooperation a new and lasting impulse, which is fundamental for a relationship destined to project itself toward the future."

Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish on 24 July on page 14 carries an approximately 600-word editorial entitled "The Visit Paid to Our Country by a High-Ranking U.S. Official." The editorial refers to the statement by Gelbard at the end of his visit, pointing out that "it cannot be regarded as exclusively personal, because it also allegedly reveals the U.S. Government's opinion on the Paraguayan political situation." The article then goes on to note that from what the U.S. representative has stated, one gets the "idea that the U.S. Government is concerned about our immediate future." After quoting some of Gelbard's statement it is noted that "an intention lies behind these statements, because in diplomacy and politics statements always carry an implicit intention, in our case that development capable of giving signs of a greater democratic opening take place." The editorial then mentions human rights, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly as the expected developments. The commentary notes the justified U.S. interest in a democratic opening in our country. It also notes that our country is not plagued by extremism, as are other countries, but that there is a fear that the obstacles "which democracy is facing in our country may create the political, social, and economic conditions to generate violence."

The editorial ends by stating that although "there is nothing more undesirable than to have someone from abroad come and tell us what to do, we must agree that we live in an era of complete interdependency and that it is a patriotic duty to create conditions so that no one may come and criticize us or give us advice. It is undoubtedly up to us to see that no one in the future will tell us what to do to live in democracy."

Asuncion EL DIARIO in Spanish on 25 July on page 12 in a 250-word item reports that PLRA leader Juan Carlos Zaldivar stated that "in my opinion, Gelbard's visit to our country was very positive," noting that they were very frank with him as they had said they would be and that Gelbard "has a very good picture of Paraguayan reality and of what should be done to enable the peaceful democratic transition that we all desire to take place."

On the same page, EL DIARIO carries a 150-word item on statements by Joaquin Atilio Burgos, leader of the Liberal Party, who hopes that during his visit Gelbard learned about the Paraguayan situation and that he will inform his superiors so that the "current state of the Paraguayan Government be made known and those people issue a report and voice their opinion on the Paraguayan democracy." Burgos termed the visit highly positive for our country because it is quite likely that through it "we will obtain the opening of the process which is currently closed to the opposition." He ended by noting that the United States is perfectly aware of our reality because it has people working especially to keep them informed.

Asuncion PATRIA in Spanish on 25 July 1986 on page 7 carries a 1,200-word editorial entitled "Neither Serious Not Offensive Results." The editorial points out the fortune of those countries where the criticisms of observers are based only on "small sins" compared to the "confusing and bloody incidents that shatter the lives of other nations," noting that Paraguay has never been shaken by terrorist groups, which have appeared in other countries of the hemisphere, or experienced their "bloodcurdling incidents, which have caused serious crises and have forced those countries to pull out of truly recessionary processes and respond to violence with more violence in order to curb it."

It then goes on to point out that Paraguay did stage coup attempts after the 1947 war, but the people have always supported the government, and this "is proof of the democratic consensus backing the government," adding that there is no de facto situation in Paraguay.

The commentary then goes on to quote Robert Gelbard's statement that a "true democracy is the best defense against any type of extremism and that "we believe that the best way to settle political differences is through the ballot box," but that "the participation of all democratic contenders is necessary for this" and if "all the democratic elements are not represented in the elections, it is up to the government to establish the necessary conditions to attract the participation of all the sectors." The editorial then states that the true problem lies in the fact that the mentioned "sectors" are constantly splitting and that the norms cannot adjust to their capricious behavior, noting that all the parties have vowed to respect the Constitution and "what has been promised by a 'whole' cannot be destroyed by the factions" because this would mean going against democracy and plotting against its greatness.

The editoral ends by stating that "this is what the majority of the civilian population of the nation regards as the most serious violations of human rights, from which the remaining offenses of those rights stem as secondary effects, no matter where they originate."

MILITANTS WIN MOST PRECINCTS IN COLORADO VOTE

PY282140 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 28 Jul 86 p 9

[Text] In a climate of general fervor that in some cases led to confused episodes of physical aggression, pushing and jostling, while in other places all was perfectly normal, elections were held yesterday to renew the leadership commissions of the 25 Colorado Party precincts of the capital, including the Lambare suburb.

The "militant" line, which is not publicly recognized by most of the party leaders, won in 16 precincts, and the remaining 9 went to the "traditionalist" line -- also not openly declared -- in which old caudillos were mostly reelected.

Out of the 178,566 Asuncion citizens who are members of the Colorado Party and who have registered to vote, 90,915 went to the ballot boxes yesterday, which means that 51 percent voted and 49 percent abstained. Only three precincts had single candidates, while in most of them there were two or three candidates, and in a few cases even four candidates for president of the party grassroots organizations.

Although the candidates and the voters did not speak directly of fraud, there were complaints in several party precincts about the totally contrary attitudes of the delegations from the Party Executive Board toward the grassroots members party, as occurred at Precincts 22, 21, and others. In both cases, and despite the recommendations of Colorado Party President Juan Ramon Chaves that all the disqualified members should vote, the delegations ignored these recommendations, calling forth angry protests from leaders identified with the traditionalist line.

The oldest pricinct president in the capital lost his position yesterday; Domingo Rojas lost the election in Precinct 11 to Florencio Miguel Ortiz Pierpaoli by 954 votes.

Mario Pastor Almada, one of the precinct presidents who has received attention lately for his violent statements and for being accused several times of not having clear financial operations and of taking categorical stances, was reelected to his post by a large majority despite an open war of nerves for weeks during the electoral campaign. There were, however, moments of tension during the balloting, and the police had to intervene several times to prevent disorders.

Among the reelected "strongmen" there is Nicasio Ortellado of Precinct 8, whose identification with the "militant" line grew very much stronger after he nominated Mario Abdo Benitez for the vice presidency of the party Executive Board at the convention 2 years ago.

The pleasant weather yesterday helped the elections, which were protected by a very strong police deployment, particularly at the precincts in which elections were the hardest fought, like Precincts 1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 19, 22, 23, and 24.

PEASANT FAMILIES EVICTED BY ALLEGED OWNER

PY282034 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 28 Jul 86 p 13

[Text] According to a report made to HOY by the parish priest of Yhu, Caaguazu Department, dozens of peasants have been detained and their houses destroyed in a "new wave of violence against 90 familes who are settled in the locality of Potrero Alvarez. These families have been accused of occupying private property by the alleged owner, Matias Guell, who has never shown any document to prove that he is the owner of the land where these families have been living for a long time." The report states that several women and children have been left homeless after being violently dislodged. According to the report to HOY, part of the land is believed to be government-owned. The peasants have asked the Agrarian Reform Institute to clarify the situation, but so far the institute has not made a decision. The houses were destroyed while several heads of the families were being held by the police. The situation in the Potrero Alvarez region is worrisome.

SENATE, CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES REELECT PRESIDENTS

PY281656 Lima Panamericana Television Network in Spanish 0400 GMT 27 Jul 86

[Text] Congress today elected new officials for the 1986-1987 term. As a result, APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] leader Armando Villanueva del Campo was confirmed as Senate president and Deputy Fernando de Leon de Viveros president of the Chamber of Deputies.

Armando Villanueva was elected with 36 votes; while Javier Diez Canseco of the United Left received 9 votes, and Felipe Osterling of the PPC [Popular Christian Party] received 5 votes.

The Chamber of Deputies elected Fernando Leon de Vivero with 106 votes against 27 votes obtained by Deputy Cesar Barrera Bazan of the United Left, and 3 votes for Roberto Ramirez del Villar of the PPC. This is the fourth time that Deputy Leon de Vivero has been elected president of the Chamber of the Deputies.

The new Senate leaders are as follows: president, Armando Villanueva del Campo; first vice president, Guillermo Larco Cox; second vice president, Adolfo Guevara Velazco; first secretary, Raul Acosta Resifo; second secretary, Juan A. Castro; alternate secretary; Andres Quintana (?Gurk); treasurer, Rafael Leguren, who was reelected to this post; alternate treasurer, (?Arsenio) Morales; and alternate library secretary, Enrique Chan Cruz.

ANDRES TOWNSEND FACTION TO RETURN TO APRA

PY251314 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 25 Jul 86

[Text] The Haya de la Torre Grassroots Movement [Movimiento de bases Hayistas] will return to the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance [APRA] party, except for a dissident minority which decided during a recent party caucus in Chiclayo to stay out of APRA.

This was announced today by Senator Andres Townsend Escurra, who said that some reconciliation meetings will be held with APRA leaders after the national holiday to allow for the return of all the movement's followers. Referring to an APRA leader's statements opposing this return, Townsend said he respected this opinion, but he thought it was exaggerated because his movement does not share that APRA leader's feelings.

TERRORIST ACTIVITIES MARK EVE OF NATIONAL DAY

PY281501 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0710 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Text] Lima, 28 Jul (EFE) -- Several bomb attacks in Lima, fires in downtown Lima hotels, and a power outage that affected vast areas of the Peruvian capital last night marked the eve of the Peruvian National Day, 28 July, when President Alan Garcia is due to address the nation. The targets of the attacks were stores located in downtown Lima streets and in the outskirts of the capital. Two bank branches were attacked in the Yerbateros neighborhood.

The 7th and 18th floors of the Crillon and Sheraton Hotels, respectively, suffered fire. The fires were caused by a cigarette and a short-circuit respectively, while another fire began on the 4th floor of the Bolivar Hotel. No injuries were reported and no explanation was given as to the origin of the fire at the Bolivar Hotel. This information was provided by hotel employees.

A spokesman for Electroperu [Peruvian State Electric Power Enterprise] has said that technicians have concluded that last night's power outage could have been caused by a terrorist attack on the Mantaro-Lima transmission line which joins the Mantaro River power plant, to the east of Lima in Junin Department, with the Peruvian capital.

The power outage affected several Lima areas, including Brena, La Victoria, Lince, Monterrico, Jesus Maria, and the downtown area. The outage also affected the northern cities of Chiclayo and Trujillo.

For security reasons, the main square of Lima was cordoned off last night, and the area was closed to vehicles and passersby. Today Allan Garcia is scheduled to preside over ceremonies in the main square and attend a religious service at the Cathedral.

It was reported that a burro-bomb, a donkey loaded with explosives, exploded on the morning of 27 July in the main square in Huanta in the Andean department of Ayacucho. The blast damanged stores but caused no injuries. The house of a ruling APRA [Americann Popular Revolutionary Alliance] member in Trujillo was also bombed. The blast damaged the building's facade.

Today President Alan Garcia will address the nation from the congressional building, in compliance with a constitutional provision that sets forth that the president must deliver a message each 28 July. The president has said that his address will convey a message of "hope and security" to the Peruvian people.

APRA Officials Murdered

PY281437 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 2018 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Abancay, 26 Jul (AFP) -- A mayor and the justice of the peace of Pachacona District in Apurimac Department of Peru's southeastern Andean region were murdered in cold blood by a terrorist group that has acted for the first time in that region, a police source reported today in Lima. The two officials were members of the ruling American Popular Revolutionary Alliance [APRA].

On 24 July nearly 50 terrorists attacked Pachacona, a remote township located in Antabamba Province, and subjected Mayor Antonio Jibaja and Justice of the Peace Raul Sanchez to a people's trial. The two officials were later shot dead in the main square on charges of being enemies of the armed struggle, the source said. The source added that a teacher, the municipal secretary, and municipal employees were also brutally beaten. After looting stores and the houses of their victims, the terrorists fled to an unknown direction.

IGLESIAS-LED DELEGATION ARRIVES IN BULGARIA

For Bulgarian media accounts of the visit to Hungary and Bulgaria by a delegation led by Minister of Foreign Affairs Enrique Iglesias, including his talks with Bulgaria's Chairman of the State Council Todor Zhivkov, Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Georgi Atanasov, see the 23 July Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Foreign Minister in Moscow

For Moscow reportage on the visit to the Soviet Union by Foreign Minister Iglesias, including his meeting with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, see the Latin America & Caribbean section of the 25 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

2-Day Visit to West Germany

For Hamburg DPA coverage of the 2-day visit to the FRG by Foreign Minister Iglesias, including his meeting with his West German counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 28 July Western Europe DAILY REPORT.

IGLESIAS DISCUSSES TRIP, DEBT, CENTRAL AMERICA

AU271811 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Jul 86 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Enrique Iglesias by Gabor Arato, deputy section head at MAGYAR HIRLAP on 23 July in Budapest: "Peace and Dialogue Are Our Mutual Interests"]

[Text] [Arato] Mr Foreign Minister: Before you began your European tour, you said to the paper LA MANANA that your visit to Hungary had two aims: 1. political and 2. economic and commercial. What possibilities do you see for political cooperation between these two small countries with different social systems and located on two different continents? What perspectives do you see for your economic cooperation?

[Iglesias] In my view, in spite of our dissimilar political and economic systems, we have a great many things in common with Hungary. Our mutual aims are peace, the observance of international law, but above all, dialogue. In our present world, the only way to survive is by strengthening international dialogue by all means and safeguarding the principles of multilaterialism. It is very important to let no political and social differences, whatever they might be, hinder our most extensive economic cooperation. My conviction was reconfirmed in the talks I had with the Hungarian foreign minister, the foreign trade minister, and the premier. These talks have strongly promoted our bilateral relations. I think there are a lot of possibilities for expanding trade cooperation. I would like to stress the importance of the first step made by an Uruguayan wool producer and distributor firm and the Hungarian Hungarotex Foreign Trade Company to establish a joint venture, the Hungurex S.A. Hungarian-Uruguayan joint company. Such cooperation can create further mutual economic and commercial ooportunities, not only in each others' countries, but for Hungary in Latin America, and for us in the socialist countries and the whole of Europe.

[Arato] You are a financial expert with an international reputation. In your view, are there realistic chances of solving the debt crisis of Latin America and the Third World?

[Iglesias] As you know, representatives from 11 Latin American countries conferred in the Columbian city of Cartagena to come to a common conclusion regarding the debt crisis. The problem is very complex; it is not easy to find a solution and, what is more, the indebted Latin American countries have different opinions.

The falling prices of crude oil have significantly changed the position of oil-exporting countries. Their situation worsened, while that of oil importers improved. So, however dissimilar the problems of Latin American countries might be, indebtedness is universal, and there is hardly any way to find a solution. Nevertheless, together it is possible to exert efforts for improving the international atmosphere. This depends mainly on the rates of exchange. We must achieve a drop in the rates of exchange to a realistic level.

It could be very important to have more foreign capital for investments that serve to boost production. Lack of growth and depression do not provide solutions for the debt problem. This is basically the message of Cartagena, and the industrially developed creditor countries began to understand that we cannot pay without economic growth. Until very recently the theory was: pay first and then try to grow. Now it says that economic growth must be achieved first before one can pay.

[Arato] As is well known, Uruguay and you personally support a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis and also support the efforts of the Contadora and Lima Groups, as well as the Caraballeda concept. The Central American crisis has intensifed since the U.S. Congress apoproved $100 million in aid to the contras. In your view, what is the main obstacle to a political solution? What is anticipated to happen in Central America?

[Iglesias] The situation in Central America causes anxiety not only in the region, but in all of Latin America. The problem has deep and old roots that are connected to economic underdevelopment and the lack of functioning democracy. We think that in the present situation, the problem must be solved by heeding the following principles: first, respecting the principle of noninterference; second, respecting each country's decision to follow a particular political and economic system; and third, in our view, no support must be given to any irregular forces operating and fighting in the region. These principles can only be enforced in peaceful circumstances, which can be created in the entire region through democracy, political pluralism, and the observance of human rights. All this, however, must be achieved by peaceful and political settlement. A solution can only be achieved in Central America through dialogue and diplomatic efforts. In order to arrive at such a solution, we are also working for this goal in the Lima Group, thus supporting the Contadora Group.

[Arato] It is just over 1 year since the inauguration of President Julio Sanguinetti. Would you please sum up briefly the year's results in returning to democracy?

[Iglesias] I do not know if I, as a member of the government, can remain objective enough in analyzing the activities of the Sanguinetti government during the past year. What I have to stress is that we managed to create order throughout the country. All of our democratic institutions carry out their functions normally, civil rights are observed, and an amnesty law was issued according to which all political prisoners were released. Political exiles have returned home. And I repeat, since this is the most important point, the democratic institutions are operating in a perfectly normal manner.

Of course, there are problems, above all of an economic nature. The country's economy has not been in such a difficult and sad situation since the thirties. We have not as yet overcome the difficulties, but there are indications that we are over the hump and heading in a good direction. A lot of things will depend not on us, but on the state of the international economic boom. The most important thing is -- and the entire Uruguayan people agree on this -- that our country is again treading the path of democracy.

LA REPUBLICA ON HELMS CANAL CAMPAIGN

PA262317 Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 23 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Helms Has Been Unmasked"]

[Text] In this editorial column we had reported that the campaign by the unfortunate Jesse Helms, backed by Panamanian traitors, had no other purpose than to prevent Panama from taking over the Canal under the Torrijos-Carter Treaties mandate. It is Helms who, with President Reagan, unleashed an unprecedented campaign, inside and outside of the United States, so that the treaties would be rejected and the Canal would never be turned over to Panama.

Since then, that clan has been studying how to resume that infamous campaign, which deeply moved all Panamanians who believe in the fairness of our cause and who are willing to defend our nationality in all fields, to the point of offering our lives so that the Torrijist Mandate is followed. That instruction calls for the last U.S. stake to be pulled on 31 December 1999.

It is that newspaper which serves as a stenographer to Panama's staunchest enemy which discloses with banner headlines that "Helms Admits Attacks on General Noriega Could Be Intended To Prevent the Panama Canal Treaties From Taking Effect."

The aformentioned daily discloses that Helm's senatorial committee served only as a springboard for launching these accusations against Mexico [as published] and Panama.

That strategy belongs to the right-wing Republicans, and it involves several other personalities and media, both inside and outside the Reagan administration, and even outside the United States.

These maneuvers will be rejected in Panama and other countries of the hemisphere because the Latin Americans will not allow open or disguised intervention by that gang that recalls the days of the "Big Stick" [last 2 words in English] when the countries of this continent were unjustly subjugated by a policy that, instead of stimulating the peoples of America, tried to humiliate, crush, and dominate them.

Panama is standing tall, and those of us who feel love for the fatherland which nobody can take, are now in a permanent state of alert.

BRIEFS

JAPANESE ENVOY DEPARTS -- Ryozo Mogi, the Japanese ambassador who carried out his duties efficiently and contributed to the strengthening of relations between the two countries, has ended his tour here. Good luck and success! [Text] [Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 23 Jul 86 p 5 PA]

NEW ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR -- Bernardo Sola, the new Argentine ambassador to Panama, presented his credentials to President Eric Delvalle yesterday. [Summary] [Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 19 Jul 86 p A 4 PA]

DRUG TRAFFICKER ARRESTED -- On 14 July narcotics units arrested Colombian citizen Carmen Rosa Hernandez de Arevalo at the Omar Torrijos International Airport as she was trying to smuggle 250 kg of pure cocaine into Panama. [Summary] [Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 18 Jul 86 p 47 PA]

COSTA RICAN MINISTER ON REGIONAL MEETING

PA272332 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0100 GMT 27 Jul 86

[By Ricardo Chacon]

[Excerpts] San Salvador, 26 Jul (ACAN-EFE) -- The meeting of the foreign ministers of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica to analyze the last version of the Contadora peace document ended today in San Salvador amid total silence. [passage omitted]

Before returning to his country, Costa Rican Foreign Minister Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto gave an exclusive interview to ACAN-EFE. Minister Madrigal Nieto said that the meeting was "cordial" and that with this meeting they were not attempting to "create a bloc to oppose Nicaragua." [passage omitted]

"It was a highly positive meeting during which we discussed matters of a broader perspective in an attempt to achieve peace in the area, how to get financing for our countries, and how to advance in the fields of technology and culture," the Costa Rican foreign minister added. However, Madrigal hinted that the foreign ministers had discussed more specific matters like the Central American parliament, Contadora, and the position of the four countries regarding Nicaragua. [passage omitted]

Madrigal said that Nicaragua was absent from the meeting because the four countries that attended the 2-day meeting "are trying to achieve peace through democracy, and Nicaragua, on several occasions, has said that it does not believe in this democracy."

"Nicaragua has described democracy in Central America as decrepit; therefore it was not invited to attend the meeting. This does not mean that we will not sit down and talk with Nicaragua some day, especially the day when the brother people of Nicaragua achieve democracy," Madrigal added calmly.

The first of these meetings was held in Honduras on 17 July. Guatemala was not present at that meeting. Guatemala was present at the San Salvador meeting, and Madrigal said that it is "important that representatives of the Vinicio Cerezo government attend these meetings because we want the democratic countries to be united and work together."

"Guatemala plays an important role, and without Guatemala we would not be able to adopt a more vigorous stance in Central America. Guatemala's participation has been very positive," Foreign Minister Madrigal said. [passage omitted]

[Panama City ACAN in Spanish at 0048 GMT on 28 July 86 transmits a Ricardo Chacon report on statements by Costa Rican Foreign Minister Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto made shortly before leaving El Salvador after attending the Central American foreign ministers' meeting. The report says:

["The Costa Rican foreign minister called for the creation of a 'democratic alliance' among the Central American countries, from which Nicaragua would be excluded."

["'We proposed the creation of a democratic alliance a long time ago; apparently it is something that has been adapting to circumstances,' the Costa Rican foreign minister told ACAN-EFE before leaving El Salvador.

["This democratic alliance,' Madrigal noted, 'must be achieved through broad participation, where democracy is viewed as a fundamental value for resolving the problems of Central America.'

["According to the foreign minister, the alliance would seek, among other things, 'to establish greater ties with Europe, especially the EEC, so they can move closer and become familiar with our positions.'"

["Madrigal Nieto added that his country will not participate in the attempts to make the Central American Defense Council (Condeca) reemerge. The Condeca is a regional institution created in the seventies at Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza's initiative to fight against the isthmus' incipient guerrilla movements."

["'Costa Rica cannot participate in the new CONDECA because our country's Constitution bans armies. In any event, we would participate as mere observers,' Madrigal Nieto explained."]

COSTA RICA

ARIAS SAYS CONTRAS MUST RESPECT NEUTRALITY

PA290245 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2115 GMT 28 Jul 86

[By Juan Ramon Rojas]

[Excerpts] San Jose, 28 Jul (ACAN-EFE) -- President Oscar Arias Sanchez today threatened to adopt strong measures against the anti-Sandinist leaders if they continue using this country for military purposes, adding that "we will be inflexible" with the anti-Sandinists.

During an impromptu news conference, Arias Sanchez said that "there is no reason why we should change our commitment to the people in the sense that we will do everything possible to preserve our neutrality" in the Nicaraguan military conflict. Arias made this statement after it was learned that the contras had been operating a clandestine hospital in El Coyol de Alajuela, 35 km west of this capital, where 49 Nicaraguans, members of the Nicaraguan Opposition Unity (UNO) were recovering from their wounds. Public security authorities have arrested the Nicaraguans, some of them at the same residence they used as a hospital. [passage omitted]

Asked by ACAN-EFE whether the Costa Rican Government has adopted any measures against UNO's top leaders who can carry out political activities here, Arias Sanchez said that "nothing is done behind their backs" (referring to the contra leaders).

They "owe us a satisfactory explanation, because I am absolutely sure that they know about the existence of those hospitals," Arias stressed, adding that he will meet with the members of the State Security Council tonight to analyze the measures that will be adopted by the government. "We are going to have to issue a warning" to those persons, because "they will not be allowed to stay in our country if they carry out military activities, not only at the border, but also in the rest of the country," Arias Sanchez said.

"If they do not respect the rules of the game established by the government, they will have no political rights in Costa Rica," Arias Sanchez added. He continued that if they violate the rules of asylum "those people are not worthy of sharing the Costa Rican territory and institutions with the rest of our compatriots."

According to contra spokesmen in this capital, the military struggle against the Nicaraguan Government in the southern part of Nicaragua has been intensified during the past few weeks.

EL SALVADOR

DUARTE SATISFIED WITH ECONOMIC POLICY

PA262210 Paris AFP in Spanish 2114 GMT 25 Jul 86

[By Ana Cristina Hasbun]

[Text] San Salvador, 25 Jul (AFP) -- President Jose Napoleon Duarte has said that the economic measures adopted by his government 6 months ago "have yielded the expected results, even though the plan was designed for a 3-year perod and was expected to bring some destabilization at the beginning."

In an exclusive interview with AFP, Duarte said that "the economic stablization and reactivation program," which has been opposed by rightist and leftist sectors, is intended to change the country's "rigid economy" by adapting it to the world situation. On 22 January the government adopted the economic measures, which included a 100-percent devaluation of the currency, tax increases, and import restrictions. President Duarte said that "this economic package" was a response to pressure from foreign financial sectors, which would have continued if the Salvadoran colon (2.50 per dollar) had reached a higher official exchange rate.

The official exchange rate of the colon was set at 5 colones per dollar, and, according to Duarte, "we logically expected it to shoot up in the black market, but in the last 6 months it has not risen above 5.70, in contrast to last year, when it reached 8 and 9 per dollar in the last months." President Duarte denied rumors of a new short-term devaluation, and he attributed them to "leftist and rightist sectors acting out of self-interest who do not want to admit the success of the economic measures." The president said that the second phase of the economic plan involves seeking new levels of production to achieve an overall reactivation of the economy.

According to Duarte, since January El Salvador has had a monthly inflation rate average of 2 percent, and "we believe that by the end of this year the inflation rate will reach a maximum of 30 percent, but this is a part of the adjustment process," he said. By next year, he added, the inflation rate will drop to 15 percent, "which will be a more manageable situation." Duarte said that El Salvador continues to be subject to international credit, since "it is one of the few countries that has continued to pay its foreign debt. Presently, $400 million is being negotiated with the IDB." El Salvador's foreign debt amounted to $260 million in December 1985, according to several government sources.

"We have the guaranteed economic support of friendly countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Italy, the FRG, and the United States, which have given us funds to help us maintain equilibrium," Duarte said. The president denied recent statements from some rightist political leaders who said that El Salvador had lost almost 200 million colones last year by speculating on coffee sales in the world market. According to Duarte, the government's policy is to sell 15,000 quintals of coffee daily with the object of obtaining an average margin of profit in view of the constant highs and lows in the prices of coffee in the world market. This will allow coffee growers to receive $80 per quintal.

The country's foreign trade has been nationalized since March 1980, when a civil-military government junta headed by Duarte enacted the agrarian reform and the nationalization of the banking system.

The FMLN has maintained a campaign on Radio Venceremos against the government's economic measures, saying that "everything increases except the wages of the working class."

He [Duarte] said, "I do not understand why some sectors criticize the economic package. It is intended to seek the stabilization and the reactivation of the national economy, and, most of all, it is yielding satisfactory results."

D'AUBUISSON CRITICIZES DEBATE PROPOSAL

PA261802 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 25 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, ARENA [National Republican Alliance] leader, today described as demagogical the proposal of Culture and Communications Deputy Minister Roberto Viera for a debate in Nicaragua between Salvadoran Government representatives and FMLN-FDR leaders. Viera's proposal was presented after the rebels proposed to the government an open debate somewhere in Salvadoran territory, which would be carried by the communications media.

[Begin recording] [D'Aubuisson] My friend Rey Prendes [Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes, culture and communications minister] has been very skillful in compromising Viera with this kind of remark. Although it appears very attractive to hold the debate in Managua, at the LA PRENSA premises, which have been seized, and with Msgr Miguel Obando y Bravo acting directly as moderator, the truth is that this is unwise. A government official has just told me that this intention has already been reported to the Sandinist government. A Salvadoran official cannot tell another government or country that some people want to do as they wish. In other words, all this seems to be a mockery, just like the famous Duarte lies and demagoguery in saying he wants a dialogue for peace, while all the time he is the one who provokes domestic discord. This is just another of those famous shows, the smoke screen that he mentioned at a press conference. It is they who have laid a smoke screen. They are gambling with something very dangerous.

In view of foolishness of this kind, the FMLN people are supposed to ... [changes thought]. This foolishness indicates that officials do not realize what a government is. Viera speaks on behalf of the president. This indicates that a true statesman is not speaking. These things should not happen. What if Shafik Handal of Villalobos now answers them: Okay, we will wait for you here? In other words, I feel this is stupid. As I said earlier, it is very interesting that my friend Rey Prendes hooked Viera into making those remarks. [Words indistinct] would not risk making those remarks, even if Duarte ordered them. [Words indistinct], this in addition to his personal problems in the party. He could not even win on the Christian Democratic Party's municipal list. But he is the son-in-law. This is to say, all of the newly arrived have been sweeping away the traditionalists. Yet, this is their problem.

[Reporter] In that case, what would ARENA propose?

[D'Aubuisson] We have already presented a proposal during the forum organized by the Crusade for Peace and Work [Cruzada Pro Paz y Trabajo] last Saturday at the Sheraton Hotel.

The ARENA proposal is a formal proposal, worthy of being taken into consideration.

According to the Constitution, the political parties are the people's representatives. ARENA proposes that all legally registered parties meet and present the problems of the various sectors, of all the sectors; namely, the church, the comadres -- that is, that group of ladies [reference to the Msgr Oscar Arnulfo Romero Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Missing, and Murdered people in El Salvador] the unions, etc., so that in this meeting we can work on what the Salvadoran people desire. In other words, it is a national proposal for peace and liberty. [end recording]

FMLN COMMANDER DISCUSSES DUARTE'S PROPOSAL

PA280238 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0037 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Interview with Commander Shafik Jorge Handal, member of the FMLN General Command, by unidentified questioner; date and place not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] We will begin this interview with Companero Commander Shafik Jorge Handal with a question concerning the political proposal made by the FMN-FDR to all social and political sectors of the country to contribute to a dialogue among Salvadorans in an effort to find a solution to the conflict. As is public knowledge, this proposal has been a contribution to the debate that it has initiated through various national sectors concerning the current key issues of national importance, such as peace and social justice, political solution to the debate of ideas, etc.

However, for his part, Napoleon Duarte has been evasive. He has been making demagogic speeches, touching on some subjects, but without going in too deep. Duarte has even referred to Companero Commander Shafik Jorge Handal in a personal manner, and [words indistinct] an episode of our past political life during that speech. Commander Handal, could you tell us what you think about this situation?

[Handal] I think that Duarte's tour through Gotera and other cities in the country and his most recent interviews on radio and television are an effort on his part to fill a vacuum in his specific stand concerning the dialogue and the political solution which he had created in recent weeks. As we all know, during his early June speech on the occasion of his 2d year in power, Duarte proposed a meeting, a third dialogue meeting with the two fronts, the FDR-FMLN. In less than 48 hours, we accepted this proposal. We announced a high-level delegation of our two fronts, thus showing our clear willingness to contribute in a constructive manner to a political solution; that is, a willingness of peace, of political solution, of a dialogue.

Shortly after that, it was observed that there was a change in Duarte's stand, a change even in the enthusiasm with which he presented his proposal. He then entered a period of excuses, of subterfuges. First, he clung to the proposal made by the Bishops Conference of holding prior private meetings: He went as far as to call them secret meetings. In addition, he told us these meetings should be held abroad. His first stand had been clear to the people who listened to him. The whole country understood it: a meeting inside the country.

What had happened? The Army command and the U.S. Embassy in fact put a clamp on that proposal by Duarte. They clearly told him that this was not advisable, that he should just make some sort of a maneuver and then pull out of the dialogue, that continuing with the dialogue was a fact they could not accept, and they imposed restrictions on Duarte. Duarte accepted because he does not have any capabilities for power, for deciding on his own actions by himself. As I was saying, they imposed such restrictions on him that Duarte started to evade the issue, to seek secret talks, so that no one could see how poor and empty the government's stand was and the fact this could not contribute at all to the just peace the Salvadoran people are demanding.

Trying to fill this vacuum, Duarte began to call for me personally, to play with the idea of an alleged division within the FMLN General Command. He started to call for me personally. He remembered all the times when we were allies. I think I cannot evade, under these conditions referring to that past, and thus give the Salvadoran people the opportunity to form their own opinion concerning a period of the country's poltiical life that was very important and that undoubtedly exerted an influence in the development of later events.

In past years I had avoided mentioning them due to a basic principle of politicial ethiscs that told me I should not make any public reference to what we had discussed in private throughout our alliance with the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] and to my personal relationship with Napoleon Duarte himself. However, now it is Napoleon Duarte who is making reference to that period of time and presents it in a false, distorted manner, and this forces me to speak inpublic about that experience.

We, the Communist Party of El Salvador [PCES], and the PDC were allies for nearly 9 years, along with the National Revolutionary Movement, the MNR. At the end of 1971 we formed the UNO [National Union of Oppostion]. That was a clear, honest [words indistinct] that was evident in a program we jointly prepared, that is, the three parties. Everyone in El Salvador heard about the UNO program. It was a program that sought democracy and true independence and proposed mature, urgent, necessary reforms to change the situation of poverty, backwardness, and exploitation in which the Salvadoran people had been submerged for a long time.

Based on that program, we launched into a long-lasting political struggle. It was not an occasional pact, it was a pact for achieving the goals of that program. (?It was a long pact). Throughout that time, we struggled together, the PDC and ourselves. I am only going to refer to the relationship between the PDC and the PCES, because of the statments that have been made concerning me. Throughout that time we exchanged ideas, we prepared ideas and stands; we worked hard to seek the paths for strengthening the forces of the Salvadoran people and thus lead them to a victory of their wishes through political means. We got to know each other well, we shared many important, interesting and influential moments.

I will now mention one such episode. Perhaps later I will have a chance to speak of other moments. I am going to speak of the most recent episode; the last meeting with Duarte, which was the one that practically put an end to our alliance.

In early January 1980, Duarte invited the PCES directorate to a bilateral meeting. The meeting was held in an office that Duarte had near the Seisa Funeral Parlor. Another party companero and I attended the meeting. Jose Napoleon Duarte, Hector Dada Hirezi, and Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes represented th PDC. I do not remember the exact day the meeting was held, but it was on a Teusday or Wednesday in earlyl January 1980. The Sunday before the meeting the PDC national convention had been held and Hector Dada Hirezi had been appointed to join the military junta and, in this manner, the Christian Democratic military government.

Duarte explained the reason for the invitation. He explained how they viewed the situation and ended by proposing that we join the government. The specific proposal consisted of the party selecting some members or supporters, their relations with the party not well known, to include them in the cabinet and other important position. Our answer to this proposal was clear and categorical. I do not understand why it is that today Duarte says that he cannot understand why the Communists joined the armed struggle.

At that meeting we clarified absolutely everything. Our answer was categorical; we rejected his offer and told him that in honor of the alliance whe had had for so long, we felt obliged to tell them how we felt.

We told them that they were making a serious mistake; that the PDC, through the pact they were making with the military leaders, would end up on the opposite side, enemy of the Salvadoran people, on the side of the exploiters and oppressors and killers of the Salvadoran people.

We explained this to them at length. I can still remember that there was a blackboard in Duarte's office. We used the blackboard to illustrate how we saw the power structure that continued unpunished and belonged to the most reactionary forces of the country and how its repressive system was made up. We told them that right after the PDC joined the government the number of killings would increase. We told them that the first government junta had resigned, en masse, in late December -- this junta was formed after the 15 October 1979 coup d'etat. We told them that if the country were in a situation to undertake an effort for democratization such as the one he was suggesting, through an alliance with the military chiefs, that had already been tried between October and December 1979 and that the facts had proven differently. Power was still in bad hands that increased the crimes, repression, and killings on the San Salvador streets. By the way, we must remember that the current defense minister, General Vides Casanova, was the chief of the National Guard back then.

The National Guard carried out many of those killings on the streets of San Salvador, and the first government junta resigned, en masse, after it saw that all the hopes born with the 15 October coup d'etat were all false hopes, that all those ideals had been betrayed, and that to remain in government was to serve as a cover for the former dictatorship that remained unchanged and had become more criminal.

We told them all this and told them that after the first junta resigned, the situation had gotten worse, that the position of the reactionary, antipeople, and antihomeland chiefs had strengthened and that the killings had increased. We told them that this would also be done under their umbrella.

We added that as allies we were obliged to tell them all this and to add a call. We called on them to think, to remain with the same positions they had maintained up to then, to continue with the struggle we had planned. We told them that we believed that all we had told the people during the electoral campaigns was serious and responsible and that we were committed to continue that struggle in other ways since life had already proved to us that the purely political ways made this impossible; that the electoral life had been used up completely, it had been wasted, blocked, and hindered; that we were committed to reaching our objectives by other means; that we had to fight the dictatorship on its terrain; that we could not speak in another language to the killers. We called on them to remain faithful to the struggle we had maintained for 9 years, to the plan that we had presented to the Salvadoran people.

The first one to speak after us was Hector Dada Hirezi. He was very clear in stating more or less the following: He said that he agreed with the way we, the Communists, had analyzed the situation at the meeting; that he felt the same way; and that he had no hopes for things to change. He said that if he had accepted the appointment to represent the PDC in the government junta it had been because of party discipline, but that he was taking advantage of the meeting to make an announcement, a statement, issue a warning. He said he would join the junta for just enough time to find out what was happening; that the situation had not changed; that power remained in the same hands or in worse hands; and that if he proved this he would withdraw from the junta. This was exactly what he did. We can all remember that only a few months later, I do not remember exactly how long, after he became a member of the junta, Dada Hirezi resigned. He did this just in time, because the bloodiest and most abominable times followed.

We must recall that the assassination of Msgr Romero occurred afterward, as well as the endless killings during 1980. That year was a very dramatic year from that standpoint. It was also a year of great heroism and struggle on the part of the Salvadoran people. What happened after Dada Hirezi's withdrawal? It was a good time to stop and think. It was a good time for the party leaders, first of all Duarte, to tell their companeros the truth and to propose a brave withdrawal, maintaining their dignity. However, it did not happen that way. Dada Hirezi was replaced by Napoleon Duarte.

Ever since meeting Napoleon Duarte, I have always the impression that.... [changes thought] It is true that he was away from the country for many years after his expulsion to Venezuela in 1972, but I visited him in Caracas on several occasions, and we talked at length. Based on what I know about him, on what I knew about him, I still feel that he really did not want to join the junta at that time, that he would have preferred other party members to join the junta. He would have preferred for the junta to conduct a purge -- in other words, to eliminate the people's resistance and replace it with the peace of the cemeteries -- so that he could then appear as the caudillo of the elections, assuming the Presidency with a clean democratic banner.

However, perhaps there was no one willing to assume that responsibility among his party's leaders, and Napoleon Duarte, as the popular saying goes, was left holding the bag, a dirty, muddy, and bloodstained bag. It was when Napoleon Duarte was in the junta, of which he became the top leaser, that Msgr Romero was assassinated. It was then that the massacre during the great polular demonstration at the funeral in front of the cathedral in Barrios Plaza took place. What did Duarte do then? Did he show his indignation, did he accuse the assassins and leave the government? No. On the contrary, he accused us. He accused the revolutionaries of that horrible crime. Years later, in a demagogic move based on his own political needs, Duarte proposed investigating Msgr Romero's murder again. As I said, only because of his political needs at the time did he direct the accusation against the one he should have accused from the beginning: D'Aubuisson. We all recall that D'Aubuisson was arrested, together with a group of his fellow squad members at a farm in Santa Tecea. Colonel Majano, who ordered the arrest, was still in the junta. Enough documents were found proving that those who were arrested were the authors of that and many other crimes. However, Duarte defended D'Aubuisson. Duarte supported the high command sector that demanded D'Aubuisson's release. Duarte helped to protect D'Aubuisson by accusing us of those crimes, by accusing us, the revolutionaries.

What we had predicted at that last meeting in his office near the Seisa Funeral Parlor was being confirmed in an exceptionally dramatic way. In fact, during the period when Duarte was in the junta, more than 30,000 Salvadorans were murdered.

I would like to recall some of the most outstanding cases, because among those killed were many PDC members, some of whom were very valuable [words indistinct] such as Mario Zamora, who was killed in his own residence. Duarte had visited Mario Zamora in his home, he left the house, and a few minutes later [words indistinct]. Duarte used all the influence he had within the party during that convention, and the PDC youths also had to withdraw from the party so as not to become accomplices in that horrible slaughter of the Salvadoran people. They created the Social Christian People's Movement [MPSC] headed by Ruben Zamora. Since then, the PDC policy has become more coherent, but also more reactionary. There were no more misunderstandings. At the January meeting -- the last one we had with Duarte -- at the end of the meeting, before we left, we [words indistinct] that we had been allies for 9 years, that alliance had been based on mutual credibility, that it had been a sincere alliance, and that although we [words indistinct] to democratize the country, to put an end to repression, to guarantee respect for human rights [words indistinct] we will give you the benefit of that credibility during the initial period.

We are going to wait and see how you react to the different situations. During the first period we are not going to attack the PDC, nor you, Napoleon, I clearly remember telling him. We are going to wait and see how you will react to the situations that are about to come.

By reviewing the statements and newspapers of those days it can be seen that we in fact kept our word. We have them the benefit of credibility. Dada Hirezi acted with dignity and honored his commitment to the Salvadoran people. The PDC youths who withdrew and created the MPSC also honored that commitment. However, the PDC remained there, precisely because you, Napoleon, exerted your influence to that effect.

It was then that we began to attack the position assumed by the PDC leadership and to attack you personally. We increased our attacks precisely when you, from the government, supported and promoted the decree establishing the state of siege, to attribute an impossible legality to the killings and repression. We intensified our attacks because you gave in more and more. Not only did we attack the old reactionary military power, against which the efforts of patriots and democratic [words indistinct] failed, as well as the efforts of Colonel Majano himself, who was expelled from the junta afterwads. Your surrender was even worse. You surrendered to the U.S. Government. To the worst U.S. Government in many decades: the aggressive, warmongering, ultrarightist government of Ronald Reagan.

I would like to recall other historical facts that shed light on the change undergone by Duarte and his group of PDC leaders. In 1972, while he was UNO's candidate, Duarte won the elections as presidential candidate.

Then came the outrageous fraud, that rotesque imposition through which the dictatorship stole the people's victory. Weeks after that, on 25 March 1972, there was an uprising by democratic, patriotic militarymen who wanted the Armed Forces institution to play a role in the liberation of the Salvadoran people. That uprising was led by Colonel Benjamin Mejia. The UNO leaders met in Napoleon Duarte's home and reported on the situation. He asked us to help by telling the large crowd of people that was gathering near the National Guard headquarters -- that was the center of the resistance that was defending the dictatorship -- to get out of there because he was going to use the 105 mm cannons of the artillery garrison at Zapote. At the time, the artillery garrison was at Zapote. He was going to use those cannons to put an end to that resistance.

He also reported that troops from the 3d Infantry Brigade of San Miguel were moving to support the ousted government of Sanchez Hernandez, and that we should make appeals to halt or delay the advance of the column coming from San Miguel to San Salvador.

We quickly agreed on what had to be done. Duarte went on the radio and made vigorous appeals to the people, to the masses, to support the military uprising. When this uprising was defeated, Duarte went to request asylum at the Venezuelan Embassy. It was there he was beaten with a rifle butt and had his cheekbone broken. He was exiled to Venezuela. As I said before, I visited him on several occasions in Venezuela. Someday we will talk about all this. I am going to refer to some of these aspects during this interview.

I really did not want to refer to that, when I brought up the subject of the uprising led by Col Benjamin Mejia. I just want to recall that after having been in exile for many years, Col Benjamin Mejia thought he could return to the country during the times of the junta led by Duarte, the military-Christian Democratic junta.

Shortly after he returned to the country, Mejia was murdered. Duarte did not open his mouth at all. He was not loyal even to the memory of that struggle, that although it failed was an effort that left a mark on the political education of the Salvadoran people. That struggle was a seal of blood in favor of the Salvadoran people's ideals.

Benjamin Mejia was murdered cowardly and treacherously. The military-Christian Democratic junta, or rather, the PDC leadership of Duarte, covered up that crime. The same thing happened with the murder of Mario Zamora, as the juanta did not protest and break with the assassins who were protecting the other assassins who did the actual killing.

I wish to recall even more of those crimes of 1980. In November, 1980 the Executive Committee of the FDR was murdered. Its president, Enrique Alvarez Cordoba, and five more companeros of the FDR Executive Committee were murdered in a most cruel manner. Again, Duarte did nothing. This was another sign alerting him as to what he had gotten into, but Duarte did not react. He continued defending the assassins. He did nothing to clarify the murders.

I wish to recall another episode of those times. These were all signs of alert that he should have noticed and done something about. Then there was the murder of the U.S. nuns. Vides Casanova was director of the National Guard. He had something to do with this. After there was much pressure from the North Americans, from the U.S. Government that in turn was being pressured by the U.S. people, after many demands by the Yankees to clarify this, they ended up blaming some guardsmen. The covered up the responsibility of the chiefs. At the beginning, they did not begin any investigation, and it was clear that members of the National Guard were involved. However, they made no use of their authority, of their high positions to clarify that murder.

That was another bloody episode in the midst of the sea of murders. Those were the days when 20, even 30 bodies appeared every day in the San Salvador streets and the highways in the country. Bodies would appear beheaded, with their hands cut off. I remember a [word indistinct] case of a couple of sweethearts where the head of her boyfriend was stuffed into the girl's abdomen that had been cut open. The corpse looked like the corpse of a pregnant girl. The corpses were dumped near the Vieitez Theater.

Those incidents belong to those times. But now I am going to refer to another murder, the murder of Viera and of the U.S. advisors of the agrarian reform. This also happened during the time of the military-Christian Democratic junta. They also covered up that crime. From the very moment they did not investigate the crime and let it go unpunished, they were covering it up. After that, they acted out some sort of pantomime, at the demand of the U.S. Government, -- I repeat -- demands that result from the pressure of the U.S. people. They acted out a pantomime that did not move even Duarte or Viera's brother. Roberto Viera, who is the brother of that Viera who was murdered, is today a high-ranking government official [deputy minister of culture and communications]. It was then that he further strengthened his ties with the military, with that redoubt of assassins who had either directly murdered his brother or were covering up his brother's assassins. Roberto Viera has reached such extremes of moral corruption that he is now an instrument of the Armed Forces General Staff. I am saying this with full knowledge of the issue, with perfect knowledge of the issue. Roberto Viera is their instrument within the PDC. The fact that Duarte recently appointed him as his official spokesman is something that has been imposed by the military leadership. Viera is the man who breathes and talks through the noses of the Armed Forces General Staff, and therefore of the U.S. Embassy.

This is the way things are. At that last meeting, the one I mentioned earlier, Fito Rey Prendes was also present with Jose Napoleon Duarte and Hector Dada Hirezi. At that meeting he tried to argue and convince us that they were right and that we should join the government. He used the same type of reasoning he tends to use to justify anything. Fito Rey Prendes has -- the ability and I would not call it a virtue -- to argue in favor of anything; in favor of what is good for them.

Regarding Rey Prendes I wish to recall some things. During much of the time that we were allies -- despite the fact that we were always aware of Fito Rey Prendes' ambitions -- during much of that Fito presented himself to us as procommunist. At one time he began writing an essay on the country's political history, and he would say that he wanted to stress the role of the Communist Party in his essay. He would ask us for documents and interviews.

On 25 March 1972, during the uprising headed by Col Mejia, we were together at the UNO locale, located behind (?Don Rio). We were trying to get UNO members to come to headquarters and help in the struggle against the dictatorship. That same day we had been training in the use of weapons, military weapons. We did this at that place. We felt that it was our duty to join the fighting if this became necessary. We trained in the use of military weapons.

Fito Rey Prendes joined the training sessions that we had organized. That was the type of man he was back then. But today, experienced after years of sheltering the killers of the Salvadoran people, after arguing and arguing to justify something that cannot be justified, Fito Rey Prendes aapires to become president of the Republic. He has already undertaken the task to reorganize the party at departmental and municipal levels. He is placing in key positions men who, before 1980, had been PCN [National Conciliation Party] leaders in those towns. Everyone is aware of this. Today, most of the party leaders at the departmental and municipal levels are former members of the PCN -- the same men who played those roles when the PCN was the ruling party of the military dictatorship. It is quite logical that things should be this way, quite logical, because Rey Prendes, Duarte, Alejandro Duarte -- Jose Napoleon's son -- and Viera, who form what within the PDC is known as the clique, cannot trust the rank and file of the PDC, the traditional rank and file of that pary. That rank and file fought and struggled in the 1970's when we were allies. They were persecuted just as we were. They were sent to prison. Communists and Christian Democrats went to jail together, suffered torture together. Therefore, it is quite natural that they should not trust the party's traditional rank and file. Because we know them -- the party's rank and file -- we know that there must be much shame and guilty consciences among them after seeing the role that Duarte has forced the party to play all these years.

We also cannot be surprised that throughout these years, members of the PDC's rank nd file have been murdered and persecuted. Duarte never did anything to clarify those deaths or to release those who had been arrested during the years that the PDC had been in government. These are men who most probably decided to continue being faithful to their ideas, the objectives of the people's struggle, to what we told the people time and time again. Well then, they do not trust, nor can they trust, the rank and file and have started new directorships with former PCN members -- men who walked out on the PCN after it was no longer the ruling party. I think that the PCN did not lose much by this; they left the PCN and joined the PDC where Fito Rey Prendes and the clique welcomed them and placed them in positions from where they can lead their companeros who struggled at the side of the patriotic forces for so long. Today many of them, even those who have remained fooled by Duarte's and Rey Prendes' words, must still be faithful to their commitments and seek a way to continue the struggle for those ideals that continue to be the ones that move the mind, actions, courage, and heroism of the Salvadoran people, who continue to be a part of those ranks.

Knowing as we know the PDC, its leaders, its middle level people, and its rank and file, I believe that not only the rank and file but also leadership circles must have guilty feelings and concern over the traitorous role that the PDC has been playing.

I don't knowe if this concern will lead to a renewal effort on the part of the PDC, to rescue the PDC. I do not know if this will happen, and if it does happen I do not know whether it will be successful or not. However, I am certain that there is this concern. I am absolutely certain that that party has not failed to be affected after having committed that crime, after having lent itself to such a crime. It has been affected.

I believe that in that party there is an accumulation of disruptive factors that will explode at any moment.

Duarte dragged the PDC into playing that role, and it is still playing that role. However, sometimes it looks like he sporadically gets flashes of that conscience he buried with corruption and with commitments to the enemies of the people. I am referring to his convoking of the meeting in La Palma and to the La Palma meeting conclusions, which he endorsed. Those conclusions were essentially aimed at setting in motion a process of dialogue to secure a political solution that would not be produced overnight, that would represent a lengthy effort, as he himself noted at that time.

A short time ago we thought we saw another of those flashes when Duarte dares make his own decisions: convoking the third meeting or dialogue. However, this time the flash lasted less time than when he called for the La Palma meeting. On that occasion the flash lasted 1 month. Afterward he was trapped, and he allowed himself to be trapped. He made no effort to save that situation. On this occasion it lasted less time, only a few days.

The high command trap, the U.S. Embassy trap opened, and Duarte walked into it. Later, as I said at the beginning, Duarte tried to escape. He tried to fill the vacuum created when his position vanished. In his effort to fill the vacuum he has made appeals, as I have said before. He has made appeals to me, especially. He has tried to present things as if there were differences between Joaquin Villalobos and me, as if there were a division in the FMLN General Command.

If there were a division in the FMLN General Command they would have defeated us already. Duarte's maneuver in this regard is truly ridiculous, a desperate action.

In spite of what we have said and the description we have given of the behavior of Duarte and the PDC leadership since 1980, I want to say that the Communists do not regret the 9-year period of alliance with the PDC. We believe we contributed to the political education of the people, that we created awareness, that we promoted unity among the people, that we contributed to their decision to confront the dictatorship.

We do not regret this at all. But, personally speaking, I do have something to regret: I regret having helped Napoleon Duart prepare his television programs and his speeches at that time. I contributed by telling him th ideas of our party, ideas that represent the feelings and hopes of the people. He used programs I told him about and they gave him prestige, they created his image as a leader on whom the Salvadoran people could pin hopes of political and social liberties.

Before joining UNO, the PDC had no clear position on important issues, like the agrarian reform problem, for example. Evidence of this is that at the agrarian reform congress convoked by the Legislative Assembly following the so-called curulazo [ouster of the president of the Legislative Assembly] in 1970, the PDC was unable to present any serious program on agrarian reform.

I remember that the PDC position on this very complex issue was contained in a 2-page, typewritten, double-spaced document. The position was completely superficial, bland, spiritless, and inconsistent.

When the UNO program was being prepared, the MNR and we were the ones who presented fundamental positions aimed at fundamental changes that the country requires and that the Salvadoran people want. One of these points was the agrarian reform. Napoleon Duarte had no expertise in these subjects, and we had to keep him informed and give him advice.

At that time we fulfilled the obligation we had as a result of the pact and mutual credibility that existed at that time. However, looking back, I do regret what I did. I regret not having had the capability to go deeper in evaluating this person. I believe that somehow -- and to a great extent -- we contributed to enhancing his image in the eyes of the people, to creating hopes about him among the people.

Comparing the 1970's with the 1980's, some things become obvious, and I want to point them out.

As far as we and the MNR -- two of the three members of UNO -- are concerned, we continued to struggle. We have taken on the responsibilities we had to take on. The Communists have taken up arms alongside the revolutionaries in our country. We have done the correct thing.

Duarte dragged his party to the opposite band, to the band of the oppressors and exploiters of the Salvadoran people, to the band of the U.S. empire, to the band of those who drown national independence, to the band of those who shamelessly sell the country for dollars.

It is not that there are opposing paths, as Duarte has begun claiming in his recent speeches.

The clash is on positions, and between the two sides that are fighting. The exploiters, oppressors, and enemies of the people and the country are on one side, and on the other are the Salvadoran people's forces, who continue to struggle steadfastly through other means and who fight the enemy on their own turf. That is the situation. This becomes obvious upon comparing the 1970's with the 1980's.

In his recent speeches and news conferences, Duarte -- in addition to making direct personal comments about me -- asked me to behave in a certain way. However, that was an empty plea, which he made in an attempt to come across as a good, sincere man. Well, there are several things I want to ask of him.

The last time we met in Caracas, in June 1979, Duarte told me some very interesting things. At the time he was president of the Christian Democratic Organization of America -- its acronym is ODCA -- a position he had been holding for several years. The secretary general was [Luis] Herrera Campins, who later became president of Venezuela. Duarte discussed with me various things about his experience as president of ODCA. He told me that as president of ODCA he often participated in meetings with ranking U.S. and FRG Government officials and that those meetings sent chills up his spine, because those people, he told me, talked about our peoples with so much contempt, discussed our countries' futures only in the light of their own interests, and completely disregarded our needs. He said that their cold-hearted, contemptuous remarks showed that all they sought was ways to manipulate our countries' futures. That was what frequently sent chills up his spine during those meetings.

Duarte did not make those remarks to just anyone: I was the secretary general of the Communist Party. I want to appeal to the memory of the struggles we waged during the 1970's, and to the commitments that we, the Christian Democrats and the Communists, made to the Salvadoran people together back then, as I ask Jose Napoleon Duarte the following: Napoleon, listen to me: I am asking you to draw moral strength from that struggle, to adopt a brave, honest stance, and to act patriotically, even if doing so may entail risking your life, being as you are -- because you chose to be -- surrounded by murderers, the same murderers we have been fighting for years, putting our lives on the line. I ask you to stand up to the Reagan administration and the military commanders. Don't follow their designs to prolong the war. Come to the third dialogue meeting as a Salvadoran, willing to come to agreements that will open a continuous, perserving dialogue process, in which we will listen to and take into account the opinions of all sectors of the Salvadoran society that want a political solution, until that solution and the just peace that our people desire are attained.

You insist on tying peace to our disarmament. However, you know very well that we will never lay down our people's weapons, because they guarantee that in the end their struggle will achieve freedom, true democracy, and social justice. Your administration has been a long succession of noncompliance and frustrations. It has proven that the people's wishes cannot be realized any other way in El Salvador. The weapons we carry are the only guarantors of a just peace. Without them, the Salvadoran people would be at the mercy of their age-old oppressors and murderers, whom our invincible weapons have compelled to approach the people a bit more, to speak gently with them and give them things. No one, not even the Yankees, can take our weapons from us. This is what makes the dialogue a feasible means of achieving democracy and peace.

The dialogue would be impossible if we laid down our weapons. No one can disarm us. We will not lay down our weapons voluntarily. You know that perfectly well, Napoleon. On behalf of the 9 years that we worked together for democracy and social justice, I beseech you to put your life on the line, to disobey Reagan's orders and take the true road toward a solution among Salvadorans, toward peace based on national independence, on the exercise of sovereignty and self-determination, on national consensus, true democracy, respect for human rights, and on the economic and social changes that are necessary to guarantee development and social justice. This is the only way of achieving peace in El Salvador. I want to be sincere and open in what I am going to say, as sincere and open as you yourself found us Communists to be when we were allies. I want to tell you, assure you, that if you make that brave, righteous decision, it will weigh very heavily on the evaluations we revolutionaries will make of the role you play, and of the kind of man you are.

[Question] Shafik: The government, high command, the reactionary circles, and the U.S. Government claim that our proposals for a political solution to the conflict are unconstitutional. Shielding themselves behind the Constitution, and as part of their efforts to prevent the dialogue for a political solution to the conflict, they have refused to acknowledge the validity of our proposals. What is the FMLN's view on this?

[Handal] Many things must be taken into consideration regarding that subject. It is a subject of crucial importance in the debate with the government, with the U.S. Embassy, with the Armed Forces command, with the entire right wing in the country. It is, I would say, the resistance's shelter in seeking a political solution of the Salvadoran conflict.

The issue must be considered from various viewpoints. I will try to do this. First of all, I want to say the following: This Constitution was prepared in the midst of the war, after elections carried out during a state of siege, in which only a fraction of the political forces in the country participated. Since that time, prior to the preparation of this Constitution, we have said that we would not recognize the legitimacy of the Constituent Assembly that was established, and that we would not recognize whatever it did. Now this argument persists. It is an argument created by the same people who support the Constitution. They made their Constitution, they held their elections, they formed their Constituent Assembly, they made their Constitution, they modeled it as they wanted it, and now they seek refuge in it. The government has not behaved very seriously. It has failed to recognize the concept itself, its causes, its consequences, its roots. It has turned its back on national reality. The Constitution does not in any way reflect national reality, or the true political scope of what is happening in the country.

As far as social aspects are concerned, the government decreed the Constitution, going against the opinion of the majority of the people, and against the peasants' opinions. The peasants demanded consistency in the application of the agrarian reform, which ended up being buried in a pact made behind the people's backs just as the formation of that provision government that emerged from the constituent elections was a pact made behind the people's backs.

The government was headed by Alvaro Magana, [words indistinct], who was never considered part of the electoral struggle, of that reduced and partial electoral struggle. Alvaro Magana had not even been mentioned, and he ended up as provisional president of the government. All of that was a masquerade. The masquerade was arranged by General Vernon Walters, who was sent by Reagan to El Salvador. It is well known that Walters gathered the leaders of the political parties, and he met with the Armed Forces high command separately. Walters threatened the Armed Forces high command. He is also said to have threatened the party leaders, and this is how the pact of the so-called Government of National Unity emerged. This is how the Constitution was created. What Constitution are we referring to? To a Constitution that really expresses the nation's desires? Absolutely not.

We said then and repeat today that we do not recognize the Constitution's legitimacy. That is the first aspect. The second aspect of this issue is that no other Constitution in the history of our country has ever been respected. The same people who today allege that the Constitution should be respected and because of this do not want to make way for a political solution of the national conflict are the same people, representatives of the same social classes, of the same sectors, who throughout the country's history have trampled upon the Constitution and violated it on countless occasions.

Regarding the peoples's interests, citizens' rights, guarantees, liberties, and human rights, these have been constantly and permanently trampled upon. It is also insincere and even cynical to try to seek refuge in the alleged sanctity and a sancrosanct respect for the Constitution. If there were not so much tragedy and suffering in the midst of it all, this recent boasting about the Constitution and this war against the (?opposition) would be laughable. That is the second aspect. No Constitution, not even this current one, has ever meant anything to the dominant classes, or to the Armed Forces leaders, or to the Americans, that is, the U.S. Government in our country.

The third aspect of this issue is that even within the limits of this Constitution, which these gentlemen claim to respect and demand that others respect, it is perfectly possible to work. I am referring to the limitations of the Constitution. It is perfectly feasible to carry out the political solution that we have proposed. We have spoken, for example, of reorganizing the government. How many times have the so-called constitutional governments in all the countries of the world reorganized without anyone making a scandal about the constitution?

Why is it unconstitutional to do this? Speaking from the juridical standpoint, eliminating the political aspects I already referred to, speaking from the purely juridical point of view, why is it unconstitutional to reorganize a government? That position is really untenable because the Cabinet, all of the key government positions are not subject to elections. The only positions in the executive branch subject to election are the posts of president and vice president.

Subject to election are the posts of deputy, mayor, councilman, but these posts do not constitute the entire government. They are a skeleton of the government. What constitutional decree, from the legal point of view -- I repeat, I am speaking from this point of view -- prohibits the reorganization of the government? There is absolutely none. This argument, is also, false.

Finally, one more aspect. What is most important in my opinion? All of the Salvadoran people yearn for peace, they want peace, they want a political solution of the conflict. That is admitted by all, including those opposed to a political solution.

This feeling and demand are over and above all constitutions. Even if the Constitution were legitimate; even if the Constitution were respected by the gentlemen who are now raising this argument; even if it were so -- which it is not in either case -- even if the Constitution were juridicially opposed to a solution to achieve peace, peace ranks above every constitution. The will of the Salvadoran people -- from which sovereignty supposedly emanates and from which the legitimacy of laws, including the Constituion, emanates -- favors peace and a political solution through dialogue, through the search for a just solution through dialogue.

Therefore, the argument pitting the Constitution against peace and the will of the Salvadoran people is neither acceptable nor valid. These would be my comments. I think the time has come for an assualt on this last redoubt of resistance to dialogue and to a national search for a solution among Salvadorans. The time has come for assaulting that position, for destroying that position with solid arguments and the conviction -- that the constitution is not and cannot be an obstacle and that this is a means or an argument to prevent peace and a political solution from being achieved in our country.

This is what I can state in this regard. I might add something else, though. One ponders: The people, the overwhelming majority are in favor of a political solution, of a dialogue to achieve a political solution. This has been quite obvious in the last few days, or in the last few weeks. Virtually no national sector has stayed out of the debate on this problem. Even the sectors opposed to a political solution have found themselves forced to join the debate, because this issue has been so important up to this point and is so much at the heart of the thinking and aspirations of the majority of our people that it cannot be overlooked. If this is so, if this is in fact the will of the nation -- with the exception of some very small groups -- one asks oneself: Why not promote it?

I think it is also time to think about this problem. There is only one answer, a very clear one. It is in the air and everybody is breathing it. However, not all are conscious of it yet. There is only one answer to this question: The door is not being opened to the process of national dialogue to seek a political solution to have a just peace because in first place, the U.S. Government is opposed to it. The main tool used by the U.S. Government to oppose it is the Army high command, the Armed Forces high command, which is committed up to its neck to the direction, or leadership that the U.S. Government imposes on it.

Furthermore, the high command is not commited out of its own free will, but because of corruption. The war has become a business.

The hundreds of millions of dollars reaching the country to continue waging the war and to promote the country's destruction -- so that the only thing left will be what U.S. imperialism and the (?worst reaction) in the country can control -- the war that is being waged with this dance of hundreds of millions of dollars has also opened the chapter of large-scale corruption among the Army high command and the top echelons of the government. Everyone who has access to the handling of these hundreds of millions of dollars gets his hand in it.

The trend in the U.S. aid is to grow and, therefore, the tendency in this business is to thrive even more. This is the way the alliance, that is, the subservience of the Armed Forces and the leading government officials, to the U.S. Government has been established. This subservience is based on the corruption, based on barefaced bribery with dollars.

That is why we have contended that the main and more decisive task to achieve peace is to stamp out the meddling by the U.S. Government in El Salvador.

GUATEMALA

QUINONEZ ON NEUTRALITY, U.S. 'PRESSURES'

PA261847 Guatemala City Cadena de Emisoras Unidas in Spanish 0050 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Guatemala has reiterated that it will maintain its policy of effective neutrality in the Central American conflict. This was reported by Foreign Minister Mario Quinonez Amezquita, who added that our government will maintain its position of seeking dialogue as a way to solve all problems.

He said that Guatemala rejects the pressures of U.S. diplomatic envoys to form a bloc against Nicaragua. It seems that the idea of a Central American parliament -- cleverly torpedoed by the United States -- is to have all the area government represented in it; if not, no one will be a member in the proposed body.

Fortunately, Guatemala wants a peaceful dialogue instead of military actions. It has been shown that Guatemala is clearly seeking a negotiated and peaceful solution, through a dialogue, for the conflicts in the area, instead of solving our problems through military action.

The Christian Democratic government has been firm in this intention, and despite the efforts of Honduras and El Salvador, it has included Nicaragua in its rounds of negotiations. What we are seeking is to tell the world: We are five Central American countries, not four.

DEFENSE MINISTER COMMENTS ON AMOCO SUSPENSION

PA262305 Guatemala City Radio-Television Guatemala in Spanish 0400 GMT 25 Jul 86

[Excerpts] During an interview that Defense Minister General Jaime Hernandez Mendez granted to this newscast, he commented on the security the Army provided in areas where the guerrillas are operating.

It was recently reported that U.S. Amoco Oil Company had suspended its field activities due to a lack of security. However, it was learned today that this could be an excuse by the oil company to obtain an extension of its lease as the term stipulated by the law is drawing to an end and it has not yet conducted the drilling it is legally bound to do. Defense Minister Hernandez said that Amoco did not accept the Army's protection.

[Begin recording] [Hernandez] I do not think that [word indistinct]. When the company came here, the government offered and even gave them security, but the company felt that the security could make them a bigger target for the subversives. Company officials decided to withdraw the security. So far, they have decided to temporarily leave Guatemala in view of the threats they have received. Yet there has not been any direct action against them. I believe that once the Army gave them protection, they should have been working. Instead, they decided to take this action. However, we offered them effective security. I feel that they should be working.

[Reporter] Can we say that the subversives' actions in this area are out of control?

[Hernandez] No, not at all. We have offered to provide greater protection to the companies working there so that they may continue with their work.

[Reporter] Has the military detachment working there received support so that it can provide greater (?protection)?

[Hernandez] Yes. The detachment has gotten support. It has been specifically ordered to efficiently protect the oil companies so that we can keep them working in the area.

[Reporter] Have the oil companies requested protection?

[Hernandez] Yes, they have asked for it, and we have provided it. [end recording]

Gen Hernandez Mendez said that there are no urban guerrillas, but rather armed common criminals in the city.

[Begin recording] [Hernandez] We could not think that there are subversives in the capital city. There have been isolated incidents. These people have had opportunities to acquire weapons, because of the proliferation of some weapons some from here and others brought from abroad. Civilians are in possession of these weapons. However, at this time we could not speak of an increase or of the transfer of subversive actions to urban areas.

[Reporter] In addition to other criminal actions without political overtones, or rather, common crimes like murders, could there be any other force perpetrating these crimes, which may mean that the guerrillas are moving to the cities?

[Hernandez] No. I feel that chiefly common criminals are operating in Guatemala. If there were room to think that there could be other groups operating in Guatemala and related to the urban subversion, I would rule that possibility out. I would have to say that these are common criminals. [end recording]

[passage omitted]

General Hernandez said that the judge seeking missing people is free to enter the military garrisons.

[Begin recording] [Hernandez] I have given precise orders to the diverse commando units in the country. When the investigating judge comes to their commando units, they are to listen to him and allow him to enter the garrisons so that he may fully learn about the situation. I understand that he has already gone to Quezaltenango and to the garrison in the capital city. The military staff in the capital and Quezaltenango met with him. There is no [words indistinct] of that situation within our military forces. [end recording]

The defense minister said that his institution is adhering to its active neutrality, and he announced that he was going to travel to Panama during the last week of August.

[Begin recording] [Hernandez] As an insitution, as the Army of Guatemala, we adhere to the president's policies of active neutrality, speaking in military terms. However, we could say that in political and diplomatic terms there are some variations. We could consider those variations in view of the problems in Central America regarding the Catholic Church and the news media. In those fields, observations are in order from the Guatemalan Government to the Central American countries that may have these problems. [passage omitted]

I will most likely visit the U.S. Southern Command during the second half of August. That date has been agreed upon. [end recording] [passage omitted]

HONDURAS

TAXI DRIVER ARRESTED IN ATTACK ON FDN MEMBERS

PA282306 Tegucigalpa Voz de Honduras Network in Spanish 1130 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Excerpt] Honduran secret police have taxi driver Raul Gomez under arrest as he has been accused of being the driver of one of the vehicles that transported the individuals who on Thursday machine-gunned a house in Colonias Lomas del Guijarro where FDN counterrevolutionaries were meeting. It was also reported that police are searching for another car with the sign Milagritos that transported another group of attackers.

The residents of this capital neighborhood told the media that seven individuals were seen arriving in two vehicles, but could not be sure that they were taxis. However, the police learned that two taxis, and their drivers were hijacked and, after their registration marks were erased, were forced to go to the home of Jose Tefel Pasos, a Nicaraguan-naturalized Honduran.

It was reported that the taxi driven by Raul Gomez, originally from San Francisco de la Paz, Olancho, was confiscated, although this was not confirmed by the police source. The police are looking for one that has a sign on the back that reads Milagritos. [passage omitted]

ASSEMBLY APPROVES TREATY PROTOCOL WITH U.S.

PA260322 Tegucigalpa Voz de Honduras Network in Spanish 1130 GMT 24 Jul 86

[By Andres Torres]

[Excerpt] The bill on Protocol 1 of the U.S.-Honduras Mutual Military Assistance Treaty was approved last night after the third and final debate. This treaty was signed in 1954 and extended by a legislative decree in November of last year.

The discussion of this protocol consumed the most time in the Congress. Protocol 2, which deals with military bases, was not even discussed by the Congress. Some aspects of the national legal system that have been criticized are the diplomatic status accorded to some U.S. military personnel and the jurisdiction of U.S. military courts in case of misdemeanors by personnel under U.S command. However, the Supremeo Court of Justice irresponsibly declined to express an opinion on this protocol, arguing that the agreement was more political than juridical. We sincerely feel that the court shunned its responsibility with a euphemism that can be described as vulgar.

The debate would have been even easier for the Congress if the judicial branch had done its duty. Nevertheless, the general opinon of the deputies was that in view of the danger lurking in front of us, it was mandatory to constitutionally ratify the protocol. Diaz Arrivillaga tried to have the Congress postpone the debate, but his motion was rejected. The (?discussion) centered on speeches by Diaz Arrivillaga, Landaverde, (?Gavillon, Miguel Pabon Aguilares, and Diogenes Cruz. Among other things, they referred to the foreign occupation, the violation of the national sovereignty, and their children's future.

Nevertheless, the Congress' decision was unequivocable. Barely eight deputies voted no. The rest voted yes. In this way, Protocol 1 joins Protocol 2. Constitutionally, the two documents come into force as part of the Honduras-U.S. Mutual Military Assistance Treaty. With this opposition by the liberal faction, we feel that Azcona needs no opposition from the other political parties. He already has opposition in his own party. [passage omitted]

NICARAGUA

ALANIZ REPORTEDLY APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO PRC

PA281606 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1300 GMT 27 Jul 86

[Text] Radio Sandino has unofficially learned who is the first Nicaraguan ambassador to the PRC. Alfredo Alaniz will be the head of our diplomatic delegation in that country. Alaniz is director of the Nicaraguan Institute of Fisheries, Inpesca, a post he has occupied for more than 2 years. Companero [Yu] Chengren, the first PRC ambassador to Nicaragua, presented his credentials to the Nicaraguan Government 15 days ago after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

TANA SECRETARY CALLS ORGEGA UN VISIT 'TRIUMPH'

PA250444 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 24 Jul 86

[Text] Today the upcoming visit of President Daniel Ortega to the UN Security Council was described as a new triumph over the U.S. Administration by Freddy Balzan, executive secretary of TANA, Central American Anti-Imperialist Tribunal. Balzan said that the visit of Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega to an organization such as the UN Security Council expresses the solidarity of the peoples of the world to the just demand of a people under attack. Let us listen to the statements made by Freddy Balzan:

[Begin recording] In the first place, we think that the visit of President Daniel Ortega, commander of the revolution, to the UN Security Council is highly important, not only for the achievement of peace in Nicaragua and Central America, but also for peace in all Latin America, because in view of the U.S. Administration's violation of, and contempt for international legal order, the fact that the United Nations and the UN Security Council have agreed to receive Daniel Ortega and to listen to his demands is a great honor by that international organization.

President Ortega's visit shows that the U.S. plot to try to neutralize the importance of the United Nations, which was proved by the United States' withdrawal from UNESCO, as well as by its reduction of economic funds for the United Nations, is really secondary in comparison to this organization's importance for world peace.

Now that solidarity with Nicaraguan is growing; now that nations are convinced of the justice of Nicaragua's position; now that numerous nations have reiterated their support for the Contadora and Support Group peace efforts, the positions sustained by several Central American governments including those of El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica are unmasked. These positions are totally directed by the U.S. Administration.

President Daniel Ortega's visit to Washington has aroused great interest because there is a possibility that the United States will resort to its UN Security Council veto to neutralize or flout any resolution made there.

However, without knowing if Nicaragua will present a resolution to the UN Security Council, we think that Daniel Ortega's mere visit to that organization to demand respect for the International Court of Justice ruling from all the UN member-nations is already a great Nicaraguan victory and another defeat for the U.S. interventionist, warmongering policy. [end recording]

EUROPEAN VOLUNTEERS MURDERED BY 'MERCENARIES'

PA290038 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 0020 GMT 29 Jul 86

[Text] A few minutes ago Foreign Ministry sources informed Radio Sandino of another brutal action carried out by Somozist mercenaries who are paid by the Yankee government to cause bloodshed in Nicaragua. Mr Reagan's mercenaries today took the lives of three European volunteer workers and brothers. The volunteers -- a Swiss, a West German, and a Frenchman who had adopted Nicaraguan citizenship -- were ambushed and murdered near Wiwili, the Foreign Ministry source said. The source added that in the next few hours an official report will be released on this new crime carried out by the Somozists who are incapable of confronting our troops and who instead take it out on the friends of the Nicaraguan people who are not soldiers.

TWO CONTRAS EXPELLED FROM COSTA RICA

PA250450 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 24 Jul 86

[Text] The Costa Rican Government today expelled two counterrevolutionaries who had been harassing EPS troops from a camp located in Costa Rican territory. The counterrevolutionaries maintained a camp in the Las Chorreras Farm, on the banks of the San Juan River. The presence of mercenaries in Costa Rican territory has been reported by the residents at the border. On previous occasions the Costa Rican authorities had ignored the reports on attacks against Nicaragua from Costa Rica.

CASTRO SPEAKS AT CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

FL251712 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0030 GMT 25 Jul 86

["Excerpts" of remarks made by President Fidel Castro at second plenum of Cuba's Communist Party Central Committee, held at Havana's Palace of the Revolution on 17, 18, and 19 July -- recorded]

[Text] We must see how we will focus and resolve that calamity, but we have to begin with one concept. The concept is that projects have to be completed.

It is noted with regret that the textile factory in Santiago de Cuba was inaugurated 3 years ago. Now, one reads that there are 150 construction projects. There is some expectation that the brigade may someday finish the textile factory. Now we discover that the entire textile factory is getting wet. It is possible that the entire factory roof may have to be reconstructed.

There are errors in design, many errors in design. There are errors in the way projects are carried out. Roofs here are made to last 5 years. That means that one day the entire country will have to dedicate itself solely to roof constructon. We have to become accustomed to the idea of making a roof last 5 years. The problem of roofs in this country has not been resolved, and we have been speaking about this for 15 years.

I do not know if it is because many people are self-sufficient that they want a particular material. If we scratch the roofs, we will find many atrocities, just in scratching the roofs alone. This was just discovered the other day in a very dramatic way. Upon finishing a Politburo meeting the day following the Havana enterprises meeting, which was attended by comrades from the province and several ministers, Lazo [Estuban Lazo] said to me, Commander, I would like to tell you something: The Santiago textile factory is completely wet.

I do not think this was known previously because it did not rain in Santiago, and a good downpour had fallen by the time he told me the news. I already knew that the factory had problems in operations, beginning production, discipline, and many other things that Lazo reported to me.

I said, Lazo, that problem has to be resolved. It must be resolved. No matter what the cost, it must be resolved. Analyze it. I think it is a problem of materials or something else. It has been said many times that it is a problem of materials.

We have built flat roofs without knowing the reason for building flat roofs. The Santiago de Cuba textile factory has no slope whatsoever. There is no slope anywhere in the entire 140,000 square meter area. What were our technicians doing? What is the reason?

A few days ago I received a report from those who know everything [los eminencias] which I read at night. It was on the topic of roofs in La Cujay. Several problems were stated. For example, they said that the asphalt produced here is not roof asphalt. It did not mention flat roofs, slope problems, or any other problem. The problems discussed were related to execution and quality of materials. However, those who know everything did not mention any other problems.

It is obvious that we have a level of ignorance, a threshold [umbral], a threshold of ignorance which we do not go beyond, at least in some cases. In other cases, we exceed that threshold, but here there is a threshold of awareness. Here we have a flat roof on a rainy day, and there is no one who will pass 1 mm [from that threshold] because we have been this way for many years.

That is why I said at the National Assembly meeting that this could possible be a problem of the self-sufficiency of technicians.

No one here has ever stopped to think or wonder about the kind of roof that has to be built in a country that frenquently receives 1,200, 1,300 [unit not specified] in 24 or 36 hours. Even 400 mm. Not too long ago, in 1979, during the nonaligned [meeting], 500 mm of rain fell in Havana. The airport flooded. Everything flooded.

No one here has ever asked what kind of roof, what roof design is needed for this country. I do not know how many hundreds of technicians we have. I think we now have thousands of technicians, architects, engineers, and we have not learned, we have forgotten how to make roofs in this country. This is a very sad, painful truth. I have not seen a single technician in this country, not one, who has questioned the way we make roofs. We build them to last a few years. Sometimes, we use improper material, and what we use is installed incorrectly.

I think that the time has come to resolve the problem of not finishing construction projects. This has come up in every assembly meeting in every province. For my part, I am trying to make a small contribution to the problem by analyzing Havana City investments.

I would like to make a comment on what Lage [Carlos Lage, first secretary of the Union of Young Communists] said. It seems to me that what Lage said is very good. It is well focused. Above all, the concrete solution he proposes is interesting.

I think there may be reasons other than unemployment. I believe that.

I have made statements on the judicial element, which in my opinion do not have to do with unemployment. They have to do with justice.

It has to do with a boy completing his military service and not having an opportunity to work. This is a basic priority that we should meet when they complete their service, just as is being done in education.

There is an expanded and growing number of schools for all the boys who are middle-level technicians with a degree so that they have the opportunity to study at the university.

I ask myself if unemployment is actually our basic problem. I do not think so. I think there are other problems, the lumpen and delinquency which originate this and other factors. They are absent. The boys do not study or work. They just hang around. No one controls them. They do not want to work. Others are not certified or have some other reason for not entering the service. They neither complete their military service nor work. They do nothing.

He [Lage] proposes good solutions. Returning to work after finishing the Army service is one possibility of joining a contingent of agricultural work. These are good solutions, but in my opinion...[changes thought]. I see these as good solutions because they have to do with the problems we have.

If we do not have enough people in agriculture and production is not met because of lack of people, that is a problem we have.

Now we have heard about unemployment. Where is the unemployment? They tell me that there is unemployment in Santiago de Cuba. A textile factory is being built in Santiago de Cuba that could employ 6,000 people. The people of Santiago are incapable of making the textile factory operational.

It would be unfair to blame the Santiago residents. We are incapable of making the textile factory operational. I told Lazo that we must speak to the people of Santiago to awaken their shame because there is a lack of shame in Santiago. The 25 percent rate of absenteeism is unjustifiable. It is truly scandalous.

How can the unemployment problem be resolved? By building a factory? One then reads what happens with the texile factory, truck transformer factory, and all other factories. If unemployment is solved by building factories, then we have to continue building factories in Santiago that do not function. I think that is much more serious, much more serious than the fact that there are some unemployed people in Santiago, who we cannot bring to Havana to orient them in general in construction work and in what we have now put an end to here.

Nevertheless, it is not the main problem. The more serious problem is building factories that we are not capable of building well. We are not capable of making it productive once it is completed. We are not capable of labor discipline. That is serious.

Lage, I'm telling you sincerely that, in my opinion, that is more serious than the problem of unemployment. You have enumerated many problems that are the serious problems. We are building factories, and I am always pressuring the central planning board [Juceplan] and others: We are going to locate the electronics industry in Santiago, we are going to locate something else in Santiago, we are going to create jobs for Santiago, for Bayamo, for Guantanamo. What is really serious for the revolution is that we make the investments, build the factories -- poorly or well -- semifinished, and then we are incapable of putting them into production. I believe this is the truly serious problem of the revolution, not unemployment! What are we going to offer Santiago? More factories? What for? So they won't be built, so they won't be completed, so we will be unable to put them into production, so there will be no discipline, so there will be no production? I believe this is the most serious problem of the revolution today.

As you have properly said, there is more than enough work in this country. I want to work in construction, for example, wherever there is a need for work here; not for bureaucracy but for real work.

I am telling you that when one hears about the problems that exist...yesterday they were telling me that 10,000 workers are needed in the mountains in Oriente Province. [unidentified person corrects Castro] Ah, in Santiago alone! Santiago alone needs 10,000 more workers in the mountains. Santiago alone! [Castro laughs] If we want coffee or cacao or whatever, we need 10,00 workers. For this reason, I think that some of the ideas you have put forth regarding the Army, regarding finding a formula, Lage, to put the people to work...[leaves thought unfinished] Let them work in coffee, in cacao, in reforestation, in construction, wherever we need them. I think that is the problem that must concern us. Let there be coffee, cacao, agricultural production, construction projects. Today, I confess that this worries me much more than unemployment, and I have always been concerned by the problem of employment. Because I think it is truly horrible that youth who wants to work does not have a job when it is possible to give him one.

I believe it is also a good idea to have a census of all these young men. I believe that no matter how perfect the planning is, the training of medium-level technicians will never coincide with the other. I have never been in favor of closing technological schools and sending the children home at the age of 13 or 14 or 15 for lack of a job or a place in a preuniversity institute.

I prefer them to study. All my life I have supported their studying.

Now, because it is impossible to guarantee a job to those that I trained to keep them from loafing at home or wandering through the streets...[change thought] I can't guarantee them jobs for which I trained them; their training should be adjusted so far as is possible to the needs of the country, but they will never coincide exactly. I support that idea: an inventory of all the youth that are living under those conditions. I would find a way to resolve their economic situation, and I would assign them to study systematically, or I will put them to work.

We have taught a lot of Marxism, dialectic materialism, historical materialism, lots of things. I believe that in this country neither books nor articles nor writings nor lectures on Marxism have been lacking, but we have not taught the people that the first duty of a revolutionary and of socialism, and the first duty of the citizen, is to work hard and produce, with responsibility and discipline.

When one reads about what is happening out there, one much reach the conclusion that the idea of responsibility, of duty, and of work has been lost here. I sincerely believe that this is our greatest problem and the evil against which we must struggle.

I think that the things that Lage has proposed can help us to combat that kind of evil and, secondarily, unemployment. Because the problem of those who do not work...how many are there? There are a lot of them who do not want to work or who do not like the job they are given. I believe that many of the measures that Lage is suggesting are very good, especially in that they help us to resolve other problems that concern us more today. The problem of unemployment is not the country's basic problem now. I wish it were!

First, they must be capable of completing them, of completing the 150 construction projects and saying this is done, after fixing the roofs, which is a hard job that must be done. Then production must begin. I believe we must appeal to the sense of shame of the people of Santiago, of the Province and of the municipality. I was telling Lazo yesterday that it will be necessary to tell the citizens of Santiago to work hard and not ask us for more factories. We cannot make investments in factories where they are not capable of building them or completing them or putting them into production. We are not the only ones to blame, although fundamentally the blame is ours. In rectifying, we must demand a lot from all the cadres and organizations but we also must make demands on the people and on the workers. We must not always use paternalistic demagoguery.

I told Lazo they should not believe that the fourth party congress will be held there because it is not a sure thing that the fourth congress will be held in Santiago de Cuba. If Santiago de Cuba is incapable of deserving to host the fourth congress, you may be sure that the fourth congress will not be held in Santiago de Cuba! I believe we have to tell the people of Santiago, and especially the workers at the factory, and others because as you well know, it is not only the textile factory. There are problems in a good number of places there. We build an enormous factory where unemployment is said to exist, and more than 1,500 workers are absent from work every day, because 25 percent of 7,000 is, I believe, more than 1,500.

Is there even a notion of what discipline is in a factory where 1,500 people miss work every day? Can this be called discipline? I know that absenteeism at the textile plant has been high, and logically -- as Esquivel says -- where so many women are employed [words indistinct] noise. The modern factories such as Desembarco del Granma, the modified Ariguanabo textile plant, the Santiago de Cuba textile plant with air conditioning. The enormous expense at Ariguanabo is precisely because of the air conditioning, gentlemen. With machinery that makes a lot less noise. [sentence as heard] The work is hard, and most of the workers are women.

It is logical, and we should not for this reason decry the presence of women workers, as some people do.

There is a very large number of family doctors who are women in one place, 37 of 41 family doctors are women. This does not sadden me: it makes me happy. They have greater access, they are having greater success.

There are many women in reserve for pregnancy cases. Those women's cases are pregnancy cases. Besides, they are not going to have absenteeism because they will reside upstairs above the consultation office. they will be right there. They will not have to ride the bus. But, these are cases of pregnancies and childbirths. We know that some of the factories will inevitably report absenteeism because of pregnancies, childbirths, sick children, all those types of problems, and because of the role still being played by women at home, which is not being shared by others. Logically, there is going to be absenteeism.

Then an analysis should be made to determine why the party is confused, why so many people are confused. It could also happen because I am the one who speaks out. I believe that is one of my duties. What would be wrong is that not even I would speak out [Castro hits the desk] Associated with all this, I believe there is a little bit of the opinion that everything comes down from the top. It is also true that many things have come down from the top through the Politiburo. Along the way one can find many inventions, and many responsibilities. It is also true that in many instances that we -- we said that in the last meeting... [changes thought] this is not the only thing being done, comrades. In reality, comrades, you may rest assured. This is a document like many others brought here.

We are doing many things. Even when we met on Saturday, the Politburo meeting, this had already been prepared. It was modified, it was adapted to certain views we expressed in that meeting, but this is what was going to be presented. But, this does not deal with a number of recommendations I am submitting, things we should do. No, the party leadership is implementating a number of practical measures. We have even established a commission -- the commission for economic management, the system of economic management and planning. We have even proposed that... [Castro leaves though unfinished] on that day we decided to designate persons in charge for those that did not have them. [not futher explained]

But, in addition, we asked that the ministers should participate in a first meeting, not that they send a vice minister here because we have to go over many things and make decisions, what has to be done with a number of things. I would have liked to bring some of them here to hear different views. Well, thanks to what Penalver [not further identified] proposed, we have been hearing different views, such as this, this topic, where we are, how it is established. We have delved into it. We are satisfied. He says this is peaceful. I am happy.

In the past the Junta prepared the plan. Today the plan is put together with everybody's participation, such as people's governments, everybody working together throughout the year. The comrades in this commission will examine a large number of tasks we gave them, and told them that these measures must be adopted because they should be. The measures we are going to adopt are to carry out what has been established. Because nothing that had been established was being done. Everything that is wrong has to be corrected and, with respect to the rest, all has to be studied carefully. When the results come back, the Politburo will have to discuss them. Now, when the commission comes back with its proposals, we will all be responsible. We will approve it. At least we are responsible for those things we approve, other things that are made up on the way we cannot assume responsibility for them. We could be responsible for not having found out in time, immediately. Because on the way you cannot imagine how many things are invented.

When I hear talk about bonuses... I did not want to get involved in all the discussions. When I heard there were 200 and more regulations on bonuses, I was tempted to ask something I would like to know. How were those bonuses approved? I can assure you all that it was never discussed by the Politburo. I can remember a few things discussed by the Politburo and the executive committee. We used to get together about them. I can remember the first time we discussed the case of workers whose skills could not be used but remained on the payroll. Today many of the problems we have are nothing else but cancerous deformations of things we had adopted at a certain moment. The blue mold plague hit the tobacco plantations hard, and the time came when entire cigar factories stopped production. Then we had to decide what to do with those workers, fire them?

What was agreed upon was to keep on the payroll those workers whose skills were not being used. Now one has to imagine how the idea was metamorphosed and everybody in the country ended up as a worker whose skills were not being used but remained in the payroll but, how something like this can happen is incredible, how can something like this be abruptly discovered, a phenomenon like this. Sometimes we have made the mistake of believing that important decisions such as this are made by geniuses. I believe there are political problems. I believe that it is not easy to explain how many party cadres are involved in this, or have not realized what is going on. Because many times the workers might have questioned this. They trust the party, they trust the party leadership and probably said this came down from the party leadership. This must be good.

I imagine there must have been a lot of people who thought it was an atrocity but must be good because it was approved by the party, it was decided by the party. This is an atrocity, they must have said. I cannot understand this, I do not like it, they said; it must be good if the party approved it.

Referring to exploitation in agriculture, many places report taking advantage of 4 hours, 5 hours, or even 6. Many times I tour construction sites, and I see people doing nothing, sitting down or standing up, and even lying down. They are not at fault, because some of them are sitting down in the warehouse area. You ask: What are you doing here? They respond: We are waiting for someone to come. It is a matter of going over there and making them go to another place to do some other activity.

I can see lots of wasted time. Of course, occasionally I run into something else, such as everybody working. Many factors make that happen some are objective, others subjective. Now that we are talking about workers whose skills are not being used but remain on the payroll, we must be aware there is a more serious problem than the one those workers pose, even though it has to be solved because it is part of the disorder and of unwise solutions, and of intentions which have been deformed, of objectives which have been misplaced.

Of course, we know that the solutions are not going to be found here, what we want is to have an opinion, views, etc. We want to hear here what has been said, what the people propose, what the people want, above all in meetings such as this, party meetings, enterprises' meetings. That is the way to have a better idea when we make decision, that we may come closer to what the best solutions are. But, in the Havana meeting with the enterprises you [unidentified person] or Alfredo [not further identified] proposed to seek various formulas for all sectors. Of course, there cannot be very many categories of solutions. There must be some general principles, such as we asked Benavides. [unidentified speaker responds affirmatively]

If there is no work, and he has to be sent away, and there is no work in the province, and he cannot work as a self-employed person, and he has no other job, I think we have to reduce that guarantee to a minimum and formulate a principle applicable to all sectors.

In that same enterprise, I asked a worker -- no, he was a supervisor there -- I asked him what they do with the workers whose skills are not being used but who remain on the payroll. He said we have such workers in the enterprise becasue there is always something to do. I said fine, but there are so many people in this situation everywhere that it seems to me there is no unified criterion. I aaked him how he exercised authority. He said, what I do is to take off my shirt and work beside them all day. Hurray! I asked him, do you do it conscientiously? He answered, I am [the workers'] conscience. I went back a few days later, his name is Miguel Angel, he is 32 years old, and I asked him what were you trying to tell me when you said you are their conscience? He said, I try to serve as an example here. Then other workers came out and one told me, look, if the boss here goes over into the shade, we get into the shade. But if we come here and see he is out working, all of us stay on the job. Miguel Angel is a wise man who knows a lot; he told me, this way I have authority, moral authority. I asked, isn't it hard for you to direct your workers? He said, no, it isn't hard. I saw the men working very hard there in the month of July at 2:00 in the afternoon, 3:00 in the afternoon, which is 2:00 suntime.

I want to know what it is that makes it possible for things to go well in one place and not in another, why one boss is effective and motivates the workers. If we could respond to these questions, where it is breaking down, where the basic breakdown is... I am concerned by the fact that at the meeting at the cooperative, it was commented that the cooperativists are becoming corrupted, too. Peasants used to work more but mention was made there of cooperativists who work four or five hours doing farm work.

You said something important regarding the sacred nature of work hours. [an undientified speaker responds, yes] I believe the work schedule is constantly violated, for any reason, for any meeting, for any assembly. If we could establish as a principle that the hours of work are sacred and cannot be interfered with for any reason, I believe it would be an important step.

I am inclined to believe that we must give the worker some guarantee. I can visualize a good worker at an important installation affected by a serious complication such as raw materials because of a shortage of foreign exchange, and not even the government is at fault or any member of the administration, of course, sometimes orders are not placed on time, and it is easier to send the workers home with 70 [probably 70 percent of his salary]. I believe there has to be a certain contradiction between this worker ..[changes thought] it seems to me that if we reduce the guarantee to a minimum amount, and if we also say, after having searched for other work for him in the province so he can earn what he is being paid, if we also say, if you work at another job you lose the guarantee. He has a guarantee now. I remember when it was established. He has a guarantee and works, or he becomes self-employed, which is the best thing many of them can do. Many are better off to be on the payroll and not work; this includes construction workers, mechanics, and public service employees. They are on the payroll and do other work. There are a lot of other problems: theft, spare parts, pilferage. If we begin by taking away that guarantee, the privileges they have today, I believe no one will be able to feel very happy. Either he finds another job and earns the wage that corresponds to that other job or he accepts transfer to another activity. This could be too drastic, in my opinion. This is something that we fortunately are clearing up. What shall we do? Not send him home but keep him at his place of employment, where he is in the way? In some cases, another task can be found for him. I am inquiring about practical details. What do we do if it is a matter of 1 day? Do we have to start the hassle then? What do we do if it is for more than 1 day; in a good work center, with good personnel, and he is a good worker? We don't want to send him to social security,do we? There is social security aid for other cases.

I believe that, after all the other possibilities, the last one remaining is to send him home, and if we are interested in that worker, we must give him a minimum guarantee, I think. It seems too drastic not to give him any guarantee at all. I asked about this earlier. What did we use to give? one hundred percent. They used to mobilize them to cut cane, but times have changed. I believe some comrades are still being mobilized.

When the microbrigades were brought back with a plus-work spirit [concept whereby workers work harder to compensate for a reduction in numbers], which will be impossible to achieve in many places because of an excess of personnel.

I have said that with the numbers of personnel who are on the payroll but not working, with them alone thousands of housing units can be built in this country. I do not foresee much difficulty here in Havana next year for certain plans we are drawing up. They can work on the construction of the family doctor projects or on the construction of day nurseries or polyclinics. Or they can give a big push to the housing units that are being built. We should provide more resources to make this more feasible throughout the country.

Now, they should be paid in accordance with the work they do, and we should reduce to a minimum the possibilities that anyone has to give up working. We can test measures of this type to determine the results. I say this because I am sure that the members of the commission are going to make proposals and consult with comrades from the trade unions. Almost all the ministers are working on this, and we must try to do several things. I would say there are several things we have to do away with. There are several, and I expect to hear some protests from the other side because there is a mentality adapted to the existing system. To miss work is absenteeism. We are not going to do anything in a rush; we have to study and analyze. We have problems we have to resolve soon, answers we have to provide relatively soon, and other matters that will take longer. We cannot wait for all the legislation to be revised. I believe the students of law and those who have studied law are going to go crazy, and it cannot be helped, because first they studied one resolution then another, and now they are going to run up against another.

I am inclined to believe -- and because of this I wanted you to express yourself with greater clarity -- I think it may be too drastic to apply the principle this way. I think the guarantee has to be reduced and that it should not be compatible with another job or with self-employment. You correctly say that they have schools and medical care, but I believe the worker needs some income. Sometimes he is not to blame at all and neither is the administrator. This would bring us other problems. What do we do with the administrative personnel? Because I say that if a factory is closed down it must be closed for everyone, for technicians, engineers, administrator, accountant, and everyone. I believe it would produce irritation not to treat everyone the same. The administrator may be partly to blame. I suspect that the administration does what is easiest: sworn statements, doctor's excuses, the works. We are going to keep the doctor's excuse but try to reform the system. The electricity has been cut off? I am not going to call the electric company and scold anyone, he says and goes home. This is what we do today, and I know it. I have seen it. What happened? The power went off. The raw materials did not arrive. The raw materials may be on the docks or in storage at a specific place, and they did not pick them up. There are cases like this that are our fault.

We should try to make our solutions fit the specific conditions. Today I was considering Villa Clara, no, Pinar del Rio, the San Juan 6 Martinez shop. Their raw materials did not arrive; we have to determine why, what part of the blame is the administrator's, what steps he failed to take, or whether there are no such raw materials. Maybe they had to be produced in Santiago de Cuba or maybe they had to be imported and did not arrive.

We have to create a situation in which the administrators will have to take action. If an entire factory stops production... I believe we will have to treat the cadres also. If there are no sanctions, and I am the administrator of the San Juan y Martinez clothing shop , and the materials are in Pinar del Rio or in Havana, I send everyone home with 70 percent and I stay there delighted with my 100 percent. I'm telling you that when the entire plant shuts down, I will apply the measures to everyone but the night watchman, who has to guard it. [applause]

What should we do in these closures? If we treat the workers and the administrators differently, we create ill will and irritation. I think we have to make the administrative personnel work harder. Article 32 and the other article, which we have changed and placed in I-don't-know-what-other article. They used to say, they apply Article 32 to me, they do not apply the corresponding article to the administrative personnel; this was one of the complaints.

I believe that when the factory closed down and everyone is struggling here so it won't close down, we have a contradiction between the factory administration and the organization. Let's see how we can fix it up. We should be very aware of this: We are going to attempt to do this at the moment of greatest difficulty and this forces us to make the effort we are making regarding efficiency and work to make progress where we have to: what is needed to get clean cane, to cultivate it, to plant it well, to cut it well, to achieve greater productivity, better work at the sugar mills, at many construction sites, at Moa and 20 other places in this country. It may be necessary to consume a little more fuel to assure a little more stone, sand, and materials, but we can do many things that do not depend on fuel.

I believe that we can expect great comprehension from the workers toward the ideas the comrades have presented here, great support because of their discipline. But I believe we must assure that each step we take is an intelligent and wise step so they will enjoy total support. We must not use the credit we are earning with this battle to begin to do ridiculous, absurd, or bad things. We have to have good aim with each thing we do.

I believe we are lucky to have what we have today as a party. One can see the total conviction. One feels calm, one feels that he has tremendous power. But we do not only have the party, we have the people, courteous and decent. Look how the country has prospered, how it has advanced! But we have implanted 20 crazy things. What is this business of staying on the payroll when there is no work? Who started this? The sworn documents, premium pay, and all things; who has done them? We did. The socialist state, the revolutionary state has done it.

We have a tremendous people, and I was very pleased to hear what Lazo said regarding the reactions of the people, what everyone has said. We have a tremendous people. Whatever our errors may have been or our lack of awareness, we have the party and the party is very healthy, both in its cadres and its leaders. In general, it is a selection of the best leaders and cadres. It could have been a better or worse selection, but it is a selection. It helps us enormously in the work we are doing here in Havana. It does everything. Anything can be done with and through the party. This is my very optimistic opinion.

We have half a million members. There may be a few members who were corrupted or lost along the way. The party cannot be perfect. But in that one-half million young people, we have a tremendous force, a healthy force. The party is not our problem. The party is our great instrument, and we did not have it before. Lazaro used to say, we have never seen a process like this one we never had a party as strong as we do now, that is what I believe. I think this process is spectacular. When one reads the reports of the provincial assemblies, it is tremendous.

We have felt happy, and it is bitter to criticize. It is hard for us to realize what is going on. The 4 hours of the Havana meeting carried by television and provincial radio reported all these discussions; it is good to be able to wash our dirty linen. As I said in that meeting, the dirty linen should not be hidden, society should not hide, it is much better to wash the dirty linen out in the open, all the linen. It gives us moral strength, it gives us authority, it is good. I believe that later on, after talking about this, the role of the media should be defined. I believe in recent days the media is playing an excellent role--television, radio, newspapers. Just carrying out discussions is good. It is happening, this is horrible, but all these things are happening.

Rosario spoke about mechanisms. What do I say about mechanisms? We must open the doors wider to criticism. If we had learned about it -- I began to learn about it in a meeting with reporters but did not find out everything because they said a number of things I did not understand...I realize what they meant later, and it was that linking [not further explained] had been adopted by the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television in some areas where it could never be done, because it was madness. It marked the end of multiskills and the payroll was increased several times.

If all those things come from smart people, we learn many things. I find out through the reporters what is happening on the buses. A reporter spent 1 month checking out what was going on, who was paying the fare and who was not. When I added all that up, I had 600,000 persons who were not paying. I said to myself: this is serious, this is anarchy, a chaos when 600,000 persons do not pay the fare. I have said that the day will come when we know all about mass transportation means, how to use them, and have a criticial evaluation -- and I believe this is one of the great lessons -- so that all is negative, trashing them in discussions. I believe we have the mechanisms to avoid falling into these things and taking a long time to find out. I believe this is a point that must be trashed. This meeting should be prolonged.

I believe this problem of criticism...[changes thought] we are going to hold a congress of reporters in September, and we must give them guidelines. I feel we should analyze that here and other things. I believe we should examine here the views, what to do with the sworn statements. The public health minister is here. Do you have any new ideas? What to do with the health certificates, what to do with what we are paying too many persons who do not show up for work, what to do with the workers whose skils are not being used and remain on the payroll. It would be good if the province's comrades would voice their views about what the people think in their provinces. There are a number of things, such as the one dealing with newsmen, that must be trashed around and seek solutions. I am convinced it will not weaken us. We have to wash the dirty linen. I am convinced that what is suffocating us, infecting us, choking us is not washing the dirty linen for fear that the enemy in Miami might find out, or the imperialists and use it to attack us. I am convinced that discussing all these problems out in the open within a socialist, revolutionary exchange of criticism, not inspired in all capitalism's trash, gives us tremendous strength. I am convinced of that.

Of course, it is very important to say that this is not the problem in action. We are conducting and we propose...[changes thought] they have received what the state sent them. Meetings have been held in all provinces. That was agreed upon the Saturday we met. I do not believe that. Precisely this has been a systematic struggle, not a campaign. We have to meet next year again. I feel that we should organize -- it is good that all managers, party cadres, union leaders, youth leaders be aware that they must report their actions this year with respect to all these problems that have been discussed.

We could call on all those who talked, ask them to come and make a better meeting. I believe that after a year we must go back to all the provinces and meet with all enterprises to find out what each has done. No one knows the value of persons committed to report their actions. In a year we can find out how many things we have corrected and how we have corrected them.

If the party congress meets every 5 years to report actions -- many persons feel it is too long a period -- it is good that all these sectors and factors be aware that in a year they have to explain what has been done to correct the wrongs and fight against negative trends.

We have magnificent weapons and do not know how to use them. In just a few minutes or hours we cannot explain all this complex problem. I believe that the most important thing is to be aware that we must use the media in this battle, the battle of the revolution, now and in the future. We must be aware of that. This is going to generate greater pressure. I believe we need greater pressure on the cadres, organizations, ministers, political cadres, union cadres, administrative leaders, on everybody we are lacking pressure. If there were more pressure, we would have fewer mistakes.

Supposedly there is pressure, that the union looks after these things, that the party oversees this, that everybody worries, that government looks over the problems, but the problems continue to appear all over. Many times months go by before we find out about some problems that have occurred. All of this is going to generate more pressure, more bitterness, it will even generate injustices. It will generate misunderstandings. It will generate wrong interpretations. I cannot see this any other way, in reality I do not see any way we can use the media in a more efficient manner without originating some of these problems. I believe only experience and time can make this better.

What I say is that whatever we say we are going to do, we have to do it. We do not want to send letters out; criticism is unleashed; and we back out of it because it generates negative effects. The truth it can generate negative effects. The reporters are a detachment of the revolution. That is what they are, and they try to serve the revolution in the manner they feel is the best way possible and under the conditions that their work makes it possible. Our problem is to learn how to use that detachment of the revolution.

That is our problem, how to use that revolution detachment in the most efficient manner because we are not using it efficiently.

Our press cannot be compared at all to the capitalist press. Neither can it have the morbidity it very often has, the sensationalism, the showiness (espectacularidad), all of that. But that does not mean it has to be a quiet, silent press.

The example given by Mendoza [no further expansion provided] seems to be very valuable. He referred to the attitude that we had in the war. We only had one organ then, the radio. It became a tremendous organ. Everyone in Cuba tried to listen to it. All of Latin America listened to it when possible. It became a reliable, serious organ.

During the entire war, we never reported one excess rifle or bullet, or one less casualty, death, or injury. We never had one enemy prisoner, death, or injury in excess. There were never even any exaggerations. There could be interpretations, but they were honest interpretations of the events.

Radio Rebelde was so reliable that all the other comrades in the second front, in Santiago de Cuba, Camaguey, Villa Clara... [changes thought] when reporting on combat activities, all the comrades knew how to make a report that was absolutely precise. When we heard another report from another radio, we knew it was a report that was absolutely precise because our habits did not include lies, exaggeration, or demagogy.

I think Mendoza gave two examples and these were two difficult moments. Camilo's report was critical. It was difficult in some regions. Camaguey was critical. One could say, we will not publish this if that is published. The people of Camaguey... [changes thought] I was sure the people of Camaguey would feel compromised. They would want to vindicate themselves if they had been unenthusiastic, lazy. I was sure this was an appeal to the honor of the people of Camaguey to make a greater effort in that struggle.

There was a combat problem in which troops did not complete the order that was precisely given to them telling them never to use trucks, never. They used trucks and took a route where they were ambushed. We had enough experience to know what happens to an ambushed truck.

It is not the same when it is preceded by a troop, a well-trained vanguard. It is very difficult then to be ambushed. It was difficult to accept that misfortune. We sent a column to Camaguey and it was liquidated. We thought it was better that all the leaders know, that everyone knows the truth so that there can be confidence in what Radio Rebelde said so that those errors would not be repeated. I saw that soldiers... [changes thought] the most incredible things happened to Batista's army. They would fall into the same trap 5, 6, 7 times. They would fall into the same trap because when a soldier here met with disaster, no one told the other leaders and the other troops about that disaster. Other troops came and would fall into the same disaster. This happened and was covered up. I was aware of the damage this did to the government itself when it hid acts, misfortunes, and failures.

I think that the revolution has always been characterized by the great bravery used to confront problems. We do not have any reason to abandon that tradition. It has not been abandoned in a conscious, deliberate method. We have more or less been falling into a series... [changes thought]. We have also been a country under seige, a country that has adopted a certain mentality: blocked, threatened, attacked. It is a country that had to confront the counterrevolution in many things and the threat from the outside. All that has been creating a mentality of secrecy, the mentality that was mentioned here.

I think that now [changes thought] that is why I say that this did not occur all at once. The criticism on the part of the press is actually occurring now. It needs to be studied well. I was interested in bringing up this topic here because the journalism congress will be held in September. A series of ideas on guidelines for journalists will have to be prepared for the journalism congress.

I am convinced that the press should be used in another form and that the press must be made to participate in this battle against all negative tendencies, that the press definitely should participate in the battle to perfect our system and revolution, that the press should participate in a more efficient manner. It is not that they should not participate. I am not going to deny that the press has done many positive things and has had positive moments in many campaigns and in serious work. I think the press should participate in a manner that is much more efficient in the process of constructing socialism in our country and that we should make guidelines for the use of the press in the revolutionary process.

When I speak about using the press, I am not just speaking about criticism but general use of the press. Criticism is criticism and only criticism, and this is only a case of criticism. It is an effort to make the press reveal more information on many different topics and problems so that the population will have a better understanding.

It has to do with giving the press much more information. We need to give the press much more information so that the press can help the revolution form a new conscience and so that the press can give information on things that are right and things that are wrong. This work is actually wrong. This work is delayed. This one has taken 14 years. This happens here and this happens here. There is a quality problem here and there is an unnecessary quality problem since the raw materials and the resources exist. There is a lack of requirements in general. They should point out not just all the good, but also the things that are not going well, above all the things that are not going well because of subjective reasons. When there is a problem because of subjective reasons, they need to explain what is influencing this, what the factor is. I think that organ leaders -- radio or written -- have a great responsibility.

It is more difficult for television but I think, in a certain form. It can be more responsible with programs. They should have a lot of information.

Not all the organs are the same. It is easier to efficiently supervise what is published in a newspaper than to supervise well what is said on radio all day or to efficiently supervise what is said on television. Television has a big impact. One has to be careful with television so that things are not superficial.

In general, it has to analyze talk, ask for opinions. I believe that we could have a more dynamic kind of information and that each one of these branches: magazines have one kind of style, newspaper another, television and radio have other characteristics. I really believe that television needs more polishing. Sometimes only 2 or 3 minutes are available and they edit here and there, they do those things in a rush. Now, I have noticed in the last few days that the population has been satisfied with the wide range of information which has been released. Beginning with the assembly meeting held in Havana, the broad information provided about the workers remarks had a big impact. Journalists have also been present in other assembly meetings and have released quite a bit of information. I would say journalists are doing a good job in this struggle's first phase. They have reported without fears. No enemy will be able to criticize us better than we criticize ourselves. Because we know more about our own problems than our enemies do. They do not know about them. We can even disarm the enemy. We disarm them.

The revolution has not weakened lately with the very strong criticism. It has not weakened. To the contrary, I believe the revolution is strengthened with these kinds of activities, in which mistakes are rectified. It makes it stronger. It is like taking a laxative. You get rid of all kinds of toxins and begin to feel better. So the cleansing process has to be constant just as the body does through the kidneys or the digestive tract. We have to constantly discharge toxins in some way.

We consider journalists as a detachment of the revolution. They should help as much as possible and they do help us by reporting what is happening in such and such factory, by saying such and such is happening at a particular place, millionaires are popping up here, there are rich people over there, there are some people building houses there, peasants are buying Havana. If they begin to report on this, we ourselves can immediately begin to see what are the consequences of some of the ones which have been built, we can understand its negative or positive consequences. Of course, we cannot presuppose what they would be. I believe there should be more than criticism.

First of all, the press should have more information and journalists should have well rounded information, especially those responsible of those organizations. All of us have to give them much more information. Secondly, the press should release much more information on good and bad things. They should report that such and such project is behind schedule according to its director for the following reasons: this is important because such and such, such problems is being experienced. I see they do that in sports. They say, we have failed on this, we have shown a poor performance in football, we are fooling ourselves, such and such...but the same thing is not done in the area of economy. Sometimes they do that in the area of culture but we do it less in the day to day and really important things of the revolution. In sum, the press has to report much more about the good and bad things. If we note something is wrong it is usually taken as criticism, if one says a service is not provided properly, that is not considered criticism, that is information. I would say criticism is a relatively small part of information. Because there are not many people who are capable of criticizing. It is a very difficult thing to do. I believe we should have criticism, rebuttal, critics. So those who are going to criticize should be well documented in order to make assessments. But the press has to inform. Bad things are bad things. An abandoned car in a lot is bad. All kinds of wrong things happen in this country. I believe we can provide a kind of guidance in this first phase by saying that at this time the most improtant battle is this one. When we have said defense is the most important thing, hasthe press not worked in an efficient way by promoting the patriotic sentiment and the creation of a conscience for the defense of the revolution? The television and radio has done this with their reports. Now we have to tell the press we are involved in this battle. We have a list of calamities, we have all these problems. Help us in this battle. Report about this, investigate about that, write about it. So that the press can report talk, analyze it -- I do not like to use the word criticize because it sounds judgmental. They should report true information, true facts, analysis, investigation, studies, problems that come up. Of course, at certain times they should give their opinions on those things. I believe we can begin to learn with that. We would be in a bad position if we did not know or understand that a chapter has opened and that it is something that we have to continue doing. We have to make changes as we go along, but we should not go forward and backward. We cannot go forward and backward. That is something we cannot do anymore. We have to gradually go forward, strengthen our position, continue to make progress in all this. We need the press to help us in this battle. Imagine if we had for example 12 7-foot tall individuals form a basketball team and send them to the Olympic Games without any training. It is very possible that they would not score any points. This is how we are. If we do not get rid of the mystery syndrome -- I was telling Aldana -- [changes thought] what happened the day of the big Havana assembly meeting, which had been organized for days, all Havana knew that we were going to meet at the Karl Marx Theater, and when I read the paper in the morning nothing was reported on the meeting we were going to hold at the Karl Marx Theater. How can one explain that? It is the mystery syndrome. It was a mystery that all Havana knew about, but because of the habit of not informing, not talking about such a meeting. That day the paper did not report about that meeting. It was something all Havana knew about and GRANMA newspaper ignored it. People are very sensitive to all this.

Let me give you two examples. I do not remember what day it was, I believe it was 1 May. My photograph was printed on the last page.

The newspaper was somewhat transparent, and when the page was opened a skull appeared right on the midst of my chest. I appeared with a skull on my chest. It is a skull that is used for the "direct line" news. It was by chance. Lots of persons began calling the ministry; some persons thought that it could have been on purpose... the skull on my chest. It happened that it was a fluke. It was an accident.

Many persons noticed it. Of course, it is painful to me, not the skull, but that there were some who question that someone in the daily GRANMA is doing something wrong, if there is a counterrevolutionary there. People notice all these things.

A few days ago I said: These are years of exigency, sacrifice, and work. Work was at the end, and at the end was Fidel. Those who folded the newspaper would read: Down with Fidel. There was another uproar. Many persons had noticed that and complained about GRANMA publishing "Down with Fidel." That is the people's spirit. They notice all those things.

[Raul Castro interrupts to say: "At the bottom of the page I appeared applauding. That is to round up the story. When the page was turned I appeared applauding."]

Well, I did not see that; no one told me that. I asked for the newspaper and saw it. Well, we cannot wait. I believe we have to advance a little at a time. That is the idea we have. The journalists congress is a congress of Communists, that is what it can be called. We also have to talk about the problems, what to do, what kind of efforts can be made to solve the problems. The people tend to demand a lot in this. Sometimes when the truck was found abandoned, they would ask what was done about the person who abandoned it.

Bear in mind that out of all this information, another demand arises, which is: What has been done? I believe we have to act with greater harshness and sanction whoever it may be. If a militant, he or she must be sanctioned in some manner; if not a militant, in some other manner, even by dismissal. I understand that all those responsible have been sanctioned administratively. If he or she were in charge of the crane, he or she was transferred. I do believe measures have to be adopted. What has happened in these past days is a test.

GRANMA has published all calamities that have been discussed at the provincial level, without fear, with courage. It has published what one comrade said, and the other, everybody, and when a comrade leader made a statement, what he said. Why he made it. All that has been published in the newspaper. I believe that no one can be tougher than that. Who cares what the newspapers say. Let them report, that is their mission, that is their duty, that is their role as a detachment of the revolution, to report, to report clearly, to report to help the revolution, to report to strengthen the revolution in a correct manner. Of course, these are powerful weapons, one must know how to use them. It is the same thing when you give someone a tank, or a bomber, or a fighter plane, that person must be responsible. Those people who have this political weapon, such as the media, we have to demand responsibility from them. The use they might make of it is of great significance.

How many mistakes had the managers of cooperatives made? Nevertheless, how much honesty was observed at those cooperatives when the problems were brought up? They committed themselves to solving them. I based my argument on the fact -- and I am sure I am not wrong -- that our people are incapable, that is they are not capable in many instances, they lack above all responsibility. They want to solve the problem in any manner, hastily, inflexibly. Our people are unflexible, but they are not incorrigible thieves. The incorrigible thieves have to be wiped out.

Then that is the reason I say we have to decide how to use those weapons, and not finish everything overnight. If before we used to get from Radio Rebelde what we got, how is it possible that we cannot get anything from that many thousands hours of radio and television, the media we have? The dream of a revolutionary was to own a newspaper. Now we have a newspaper with one million copies daily. Why can we not make the best use of it? If the battle before was against oppression, exploitation, tyranny, now the battle is for building socialism.

The motivation is enormous. How can we not learn how to use those means we have in an optimum manner? I am not saying that those means have not been useful. That is what we are thrashing out here at the Central Committee, that we are aware of the problem and that we consider that using the media is essential in this battle, using that detachment efficiently. I believe that many of the points discussed here, all noted here in the Central Committee and those noted in the government document are guidelines with which to ask the media to participate in this battle for correcting all that is wrong, which is not only this. There are many other trends.

There is the trend of deliquency, laziness, mercantilism, summing up, many of them. A group of things that have been discussed in recent days, in one way or another.

The pre-university vocational schools will become vocational schools of exact sciences. They are great schools with great programs. Together with this, the working hours in the vocational schools, which were not many because the planned industries never materialized, were reduced to 1 working day, to devote all that time to study. The vocational schools are logically more demanding, so the parents requested a point allowance, that is because their children were attending those rigorous vocational schools they wanted three points. They were going to get three points. If they got 90 points, they would be allowed 93 because it was a tough school.

That is why when I thought about the other preuniversity schools in Pinar del Rio, Matanzas, which are not vocational, where the youths work and participate, I reached the conclusion that I was going to do something very edifying in connection with youths who were working in production, who were lending many services to the country, and that those who had the best professors, more time for study, even if required to work more, they would have an irritating advantage over those students in those lonely places in Ciego, Sola, everywhere, in Jaguey. Very vehemently I maintained that view, even though there was an agreement on reviewing the concept.

I asked some vocational schools what was the percentage of youths going to the preuniversity level, and the response was more than 90 percent of those graduating from vocational schools -- on their own, without any point allowance -- were admitted to preuniversity schools. Sometimes 95, 96 percent were admitted to the university. Why were we going to give them three bonus points? Their parents were the ones waging the old battle, struggling to obtain priviledges for their children and they spoil them. We stopped that on time. Of course now...there are in fact some priviliges because families with a higher cultural level also have some influence on the children's education. Now the scores used to admit them to the exact sciences preuniversity schools are figured out by considering their point average and a test equally. They have to take a test.

I was thinking about preuniversity students. We found a fair solution, that exact sciences preuniversity students not obtain bonus points. They did not need them anyway.

Basically I am saying that in a socialist system, the Central Committee, the Politburo, the leadership, are the ones that have to take care of quite a few things, science among them. I do not know if Rosa Elena [Simeon, Cuban Academy of Sciences president] today or tomorrow will give us an overview of the status of science because she has an action plan. Here everyone wanted to be a doctor. Have you not noticed that everyone here is a doctorate candidate? Many times their doctorates have nothing to do with the country's interests, with what needs to be researched, what needs to be done. It is silly. If we have done dumb things with the jobless workers [interruptos]. With medical certificates, with this and that, I want to let you know that we have done a lot of dumb and silly things in the field of science.

It would be good if Rosa Elena would also tell us about it because it is very important and what we plan to do in that field.

Therefore, financial matters are not the only things -- as I was saying yesterday, that when the illustrious commission we created comes here with its proposals and brings all the conclusions all the ministers have reached -- that is all those comrades who are more familiar with the problems -- we can sit down and think, meditate, analyze, and make decisions. The same way we did with the plans.

Unfortunately, the time we are making all those innovations is the time we have more problems, when it is more difficult to make plans because of resource shortages, when we have a foreign currency shortage. But we have another procedure for people to come and explain these things to the Politburo. I am convinced, every day I am more convinced about the task of leadership in socialism, the work of the party, the Central Committee and Politburo. It is not like capitalism in which a private enterprise does research...we can do a lot of things. We can do a lot of things [Castro repeats himself]. It is incredible what can be done under one condition. That there is guidance, leadership, it is known what needs to be done in all these fields. I am more and more convinced of the importance that all this has -- I believe it is a key problem -- I believe education is also very important.

I have always had my doubts about those emulations based on percentages. Because the teacher makes up everything so that the students get a good grade. Everyone who has been a student knows that there are youth who study more than others. There are families that are able to make one child study and cannot get the other one to study. We all know that. Because I believe that if everyone passes easily, there is something wrong. Either the course is too easy or ... [changes thought] I see now that there are greater demands. I see students studying hard. It is difficult now. I know medical school is very difficult. I see that. Very difficult. Those who have performed poorly in secondary and preuniversity school I doubt that... [changes thought] One time we discussed the problem at medical school professors meeting, that it was too big of a change for students. That resulted in that meeting you had and all the measures that were taken regarding the preuniversity students. Because we realized what the professors were saying about how poorly prepared students were when they were admitted. We had no other choice than to set higher standards. It is difficult but it is better. I believe this is the only way we can make professors to make more efforts and for students to make more efforts. In this country students do not study hard enough, some of them. Some of them cannot survive if they do not study because if not, they flunk. I believe that they need to study more and we have to continue to demand more. If we are asking people to work more we have to ask professors to work more, to teach more and better. We have to ask students to study harder, more and better.

I'd rather make more demands despite all the inconveniences they bring so that we can improve the quality of education and that we do not have to talk about all this during our next congress. We have to keep in mind that all these matters were emphasized. We talked about it during last February's congress at the Pioneers assembly meeting. It was a logical thing. I believe they had to be discussed beginning this year even when a number of weaknesses were discovered. I believe that the report should be published in Havana, in the HAVANA TRIBUNE.

I am going to attempt to really be brief this time. I am not going to repeat here -- it is absolutely unnecessary -- many of the things I have said during these last months in connection with the problems we have been discussing.

You have read about it during the congress, about general matters. I also remember that when we had to strongly criticize the things that were not going well, I attempted to make an inventory of calamities, to put them together. Instead of discussing good and bad things at the same time, we discussed the satisfactory things and the poor things separately.

A great number of pages were used to discuss problems. People paid a great deal of attention to them. International news agencies wanted to take advantage of it. We were hit hard but stood firm. They are no longer successful when they attempt to take advantage when we acknowledge the things that are going wrong. They are almost left without arguments. But the population paid a lot of attention to the congress report. It was a kind of prelude to what happened latter. I wanted to talk very little about problems on 19 April and everyone was talking about them the next day.

I do not have to repeat myself, you have heard about them during the congress, on 19 April, during assembly meetings, the meeting with peasants, the meeting with peasants [repeats himself], assembly meetings [repeats himself], the national assembly meeting, the Pioneers meeting.

One does not clearly see a problem all of a sudden. One sees negative signals, problems, but there came a time when I began to see the problem as a whole very clearly. A number of factors contributed to this. Even before the congress, I remember how last year around this time in the summer -- August and September -- we began to hear all kinds of complaints about hospitals, people's complaints about hospitals. That worried me. I thought that after all the attention we pay to hospitals, the things we are doing, the new things -- undoubtedly many new things have been done such as the campaign against dengue, intensive care units in hospitals, massive graduations of doctors, medical science detachments, a number of programs, remodeling of pediatric hospitals and optical offices were remodeled. A number of measures were taken in the field of health. The education detachment was created. Two groups of medical faculties were created, one with those from Havana and another national one. A lot of work, a lot of comrades were taking care of the field of medicine. Hospitals were also inspected. We solved many problems, all kind of problems. We worked with nurses, doctors, nurses salaries were increased. A number of measures were taken. And I thought, how do you explain that we begin to hear that complaints increase regarding services,. Hospital care? What could we do? We could not send more people to visit hospitals, they had been visited several times. So I wanted to find out what was happening in hospitals.

I suggested we hold a meeting with all the hospital staff. I wanted to have a personal contact with hospital directors, party committee secretaries -- almost all hospitals have party committee representatives -- with labor unions, head nurses, and youth. Over 300 people gathered in this same place. It was a long meeting, from 3 to 12 or 1 during 2 days. Various problems were intensively discussed. We had met to analyze subjective problems and we actually discovered a number of problems, not only subjective ones but also objectives, and a combination of both. There was a hospital where a people's government [corrects himself] no a construction industry enterprise had finished an elevator and a people's government enterprise had to receive the elevator which had been built 3 months ago and the transaction had not taken place. Consequently, 100 beds of the Camilo Cienfuegos [hospital] were not being used. That came up during the meeting's first day and the problem was solved the following day. We discovered that equipment which had been delivered to hospitals had not been assembled in 2 years. A multi-million dollar power plant required a small building because a transaction had not been completed. New expensive equipment was not installed. There were an incredible number of problems, not only subjective but objective ones.

We found out that there was a deficit, all kinds of problems, that while we built hospitals in the rest of the country -- some of them have taken 10, 12, and 13 years to built -- we found that we already had a deficit of beds here. That the revolution had not done anything.

That was when I found out about the terrible things that were going on at the Salvador Allende [hospital] which had 14 different managements operating in it, among them a people's government cafeteria. A hospital with 14 or 15 different managements. What? Were there 16? It is possible. Including the institute. What was happening? A number of organizations had warehouses in the ward's basements. There was a little bit of everything. It was one of those cases when people accumulate things, they get used to live with them. I thought the kinds of things that the hospital had were amazing. The trailer trucks coming and going, that is the story Caballero told here which almost ends in a war. I said how could that be, when were those things delivered, under which circumstances, how has that situation prevailed for so long?

We kept examining all kinds of problems. I was asked to go to such and such place, to go to the Julio Diaz. I found that the Julio Diaz, which is a very important hospital in this country because it rehabilitates people who were born with defects, children with birth defects or who have defects because of illnesses, because of a trombosis. It takes care of the most difficult human problems you can find. Hydromassage baths were needed there, some beds were needed. The staff was making a heroic effort because they had no other choice. The Salvador Allende staff were making a heroic effort. What is interesting about this is that in the midst of this incredible calamity, something which could not have occurred in any other hospital in the world -- a hospital whose wards' basements [being used as a warehouse], a Spanish hospital which had also lost some 300 beds for one or another reason, or lack of maintenance -- despite that, it had been designated national vanguard. So the workers and the party made big efforts and were able to accomplish a feat. They were national vanguards. You can imagine a hospital with those kinds of problems and being national vanguard at the same time! That was the situation. But the Julio Diaz staff was also making incredible efforts. They had problems. The day I visited that hospital I had already gone to the Albarran [hospital] and a lady told me, there are no beds available in the hospital, I have an aunt here with such a condition, with a paralysis and is here in the Albarran. We realized hospitals had a number of problems which I could not even imagine. There were problems with construction projects. At the Frank Pais [hospital] there was a hydromassage room under construction. It had been under construction for 7 years and it was still in its third stage. That did not appear to be serious work. I estimated that it would take 21 years to complete the project. I asked, what has happened? What has happened to us? How can this be? As we discussed subjective aspects we found about objective things. I thought we were falling into deep water. It was very dissapointing. I learned about all kinds of problems. There was an excess of people, bureaucracy, things that were not working properly because we had given nurses abnormal conditions. The nurses aides who worked with lepers were not receiving anything extra for working with lepers, in infectious places. So we decided of all the efforts -- and we were not in the productive area although there were problems of the productive area which were having an effect over all these matters. I asked to meet again. Later, I met with the institutes. On the 31st I began to tour the hospitals.

Yes, on the 31st I said I was going to tour the hospitals. I didn't have any desire to do so. I visited the Calixto Garcia Hospital at night. The problems of the night shift were frightful. It was chaos! I said, my goodness, all the effort we are making in this field and this is how things are!

A program came from this, and just a few months later it is already having an effect. A considerable effort is being made in that field. It was necessary to improvise a program and ask the comrade construction workers to make an effort, to draw up plans, because we foresaw serious shortages of hospital beds. We decided a series of things then. This, combined with the plan for 500 new physicians...because we discovered at the same time that with the family doctor system, nobody was going to the hospital emergency staff. I imagine that the problems of emergency staff were caused by requests for doctor's excuses. I believe Panchito [not further identified] said, the good workers are the ones harmed by the doctor's excuse requirement. Because a worker who has the flu -- and everyone know he has the flu and is ill -- has to get out of bed in the morning to go to a polyclinic for a doctor's excuse like a good worker to show that he has the flu, when everyone where he works already knows it.

The emergency staffs were overwhelmed. We held other meetings. We met with the institutes, then with the family doctors, and we began a program to begin to overcome the problems. Its effects began to be noticed. The party began to work systematically: it held meetings with the members and is meeting with the members every month to determine how hospital work is going. In this way, with a series of practical measures and a good policy, we began to see the results, and the people spoke of it. Assemblies were held at all the places of work and hospitals, and the people began to react, to make performance pledges. This forms part of a program that we intend to follow tenaciously for as long as it is necessary. I have cited this example because, well...this is where I began to see a lot of things in a lot of places. Party reports appeared on what was happening on the cooperatives, and a lot of circumstances like these showed up in a period of 3 months, more or less. We realized the disastrous situation of the cooperatives, the great number of problems and irregularities in which cooperativists were involved. It was very painful.

Some cooperatives earned 50,000 pesos or tens of thousands of pesos without doing anything. They simply allowed private broom manufacturers to use their names, and sell brooms as if they had been produced by the cooperatives. We were horrified and decided it would be necessary to meet with the cooperatives. There was a cultural problem. Those people earned 300,000 pesos. We started to receive reports of truck drivers who earned tremendous amounts, and we continue to receive reports about certain work centers with very large salaries.

Well, we could see what was happening with the famous housing law we drew up, and I began to see the entire problem clearly. I want to meet with the pioneers, who were concerned with educational problems. I spoke to them of the problems and told them they have to study, and discussed problems after the 19th, as I have told you. I had no intention of uncovering anything. My idea was to address the problems little by little and not do anything traumatic or spectacular. The same thing happened as at the congress. When I touched upon these problems on the 19th, the following day everyone was talking about them and nothing else.

During those days, by chance, I had met up with...[changes thought] touring the area of the beaches, I studied the problems of the beaches and of the National Institute of Tourism (INTUR), which included the problems of salary, extra pay, premium pay, and others. During those days, there were people who wanted to leave the houses of protocol because of their piratical charges. Touring the area of the combinado del este, studying how much all that meant in dollars, I saw a lot of problems. I stopped because I saw a crane and thought the crane should not be there and that someone had taken it home, and what I found there is what I told about later. The other day, I was near (Margloa) and I saw a truck there. I said, go in there and ask what that truck is doing there. The truck in fact should not have been there. I asked for information on the man and found he was a good man who was not engaged in thievery; the neighbors had a good opinion of him and his family. The first thing I do is ask about the individual to find out who he is. I said, you have done a bad thing, don't do it again, it isn't right.

I calculated how much gasoline he would use by making 1, 2, or 3 trips every day. A truck like that must consume 15 or 20 gallons every 8 km. [figures as heard] I saw that the problem was quite widespread and on 19 April, when I spoke of the problem, there was a strong reaction. I was able to realize to what degree the people have been sensitized by all that garbage and how greatly extended the irregularities had become.

All of this began to add up. We were meeting with the doctors, and I said it was necessary to meet with the peasants to talk with them about all these problems. Then I spoke with Lezcano and told him, look, Lezcano, there are so many state enterprises implicated in this, and so many reports are coming in about irregularities of very kind that we have to meet with the workers of the capital. We are going to call all the capital workers together, that is, we are going to call together the enterprises, the workers, the party, and youth groups. This is how the idea was born.

Later, when the change was made in the .... [changes thought] we met in Havana Province to propose changes in the movement of cadres, I also spoke of this, and I now see it all very clearly. We decided to invite Havana Province also. This is how that meeting came about, and then came the Politburo meeting. I didn't want, I didn't have any intention of uncovering anything or of doing anything abruptly. To the contrary, I wanted to work patiently as we have been doing with the doctors. But this was not possible. We had hardly touched upon the subject when it appeared to explode. I met with the reporters and explained this to them... [corrects himself] the first meeting was with reporters to discuss all these problems in view of the congress, which was fast approaching. The big meeting we held later in Havana, the Politburo meeting, and then the provincial meetings served to give shape to this battle. We are involved with 13 incredible problems that I consider negative, very negative and dangerous, especially to the degree that they coincide with the greatest economic difficulties of the country. Not all of the economy but rather a part of the economy, the convertible currency part, which has enormous weight.

The worst economic moment we have ever had. [sentence as heard] Each year, although we had a minimum of convertible currency for what we had to import, it was not so severe. All this is coinciding with a degree of laxity, laxity everywhere, reflected in a thousand reports. I saw this was becoming a really serious problem. Fortunately, we were able to dedicate ourselves to this problem. We could dedicate ourselves to the problem because earlier we had done a very good thing. We had made an enormous defense effort. I believe that, in these years of the Reagan presidency the country has passed through its most difficult stage, after the October crisis. No, I think it was more dangerous than the October crisis: threats, irritated every day, insolent bullying this country. We analyzed the reality... we made an analysis of our defense unlike any that had ever been done. The concept of a people's war was developed, and we began to strengthen our defenses. I presented a large number of my concerns about a series of things that appeared absolutely necessary, using our socialist experience as a starting point, correcting things that had been done wrong, including idealistic errors. We are going to continue along this path, we must be prepared. Rene [not further identified] has read here a lot of the matters I dealth with in 1975. I wrote them down myself, nobody helped me to write down the ideas that are there, where I presented all the concerns that Rene read about here: that we could not trust the mechanisms, and that political work and morals are more important than any mechanism, especially under socialism.

If capitalism is the empire of blind laws, ocialism is the empire of the plan, of rationality, of the work of man. Socialism is not built by virtue of blind laws. Socialism has its laws but the subjective factor -- the role of the party, the role of man -- is fundamental. It uses those things as instruments, as mechanisms, as scientific knowledge of the process, but it cannot be even imagined that it works alone or that socialism can be built like capitalism, starting with laws that function by themselves and blind laws instead of mechanisms.

When we saw those salaries of 700, 800, 900, 1,000 pesos, I asked, when they go on internationalist missions, what are we going to pay them? What are we going to pay these men that in the number of 300,000 were willing to go to Angola and Ethiopia? What do we do with them?

Voluntary work has been abandoned despite what we said 20 times. But fortunately, voluntary work found a place of refuge. It took refuge in the field of defense: in training, in preparations, in the digging of trenches, in all the efforts made. In the Havana meeting, Veiga spoke of what defense had meant to the materialization of voluntary work. Everywhere else it has disappeared. Where a square used to be cleaned up by voluntary work and the grass cut, it is now necessary to pay for all this work. Everything must be resolved with money, everything, everything, absolutely everything. We are entering a process of corruption of the workers. I realize we have created a lot of nouveaux riches of all kinds. Reports arrive of persons who have bought a house for 50,000 or 60,000, an automobile for so much, who have so much money, so much deposited in the bank.

This is how the problems were being presented; I think we are dealing with them although we have not yet solved them all. In Lenin Park, candies and chocolate used to be sold at high prices and nevertheless people bought them in Lenin Park and resold them here in the hospitals. Who knows how much money we have given away? I think it must total billions of pesos, billions! The parallel market cannot absorb all that money. All we import, whatever we do, it is not enough to absorb the money, especially in situations in which convertible currency is restricted. How could we absorb that money? There is excess money here. Everybody has started to sell, to buy lots, to own lots. That law would not have such a negative effect if it had not come along at a moment when there are many millionaries.

Then we began to see very painful situations: Persons who had sold their houses because they needed money. They couldn't do that before. Houses the state had given to workers, persons who built houses and then sold them. We saw all kinds of strange manifestations of capitalism, and good people got caught in some of these errors. With all that money, people began to sell houses for 20,000, 30,000, 50,000 pesos. The people earned sums of money, as in the case I described in which the person earned 300,000 pesos in one year. I told myself, in 1 year they have earned 60 times more than the doctors who do heart transplants. This was a chaos that was really very worrisome, for which reason I said we have to begin to correct this. But if we can begin to correct things without creating a fuss, so much the better, if a measure can be taken, if we can meet with the doctors one day, with the peasants another day, with the workers yet another day.

But this really could not be done any other way, and it is being done with a minimum of fuss, carefully. I think it is being done with all necessary care. It was clear to me that we could not rush into things, that we could not take hasty measures. There was one that turned out to be impossible, and that was the one that had to be done almost drastically: the free farmers' market. I thought that would take us months, but when I saw the spirit, the reaction, the vehemence with which the people said it should be done away with, I said there is no sense to this. We had been thinking about taxes, more taxes, and more taxes, but we stopped. It was nonsense to ask the cooperatives not to go; I realized that many of those of the free farmers' market were laughing at the cooperativists. It became clear that the cooperativists were our vanguard in the peasant sector, and that the best farmers had joined the cooperatives. Those who did not join were the backward peasants. I cogitated a lot about the problem of the farmers' market and all those things. I also thought a lot about this when at the time of a certain economic problem it was presented as a panacea. I also worried about he self-employed workers, and about free contracting, At several meetings with the executive committee, I said we had to be careful of the consequences. I was concerned over the entire matter. I do not believe that everything we did was negative.

At several meetings I expressed concern on the question of free-contract work [libre contratacion]. At the executive committee meeting I stated that one must be careful what consequences will affect women and others. I was very concerned with all those experiences. I do not believe that everything we have done is negative but there are many things that have not produced results.

I think that they did not want to hold discussions. They did not want to give an opinion on the problem of free-contract work. The worker himself, the leaders that charge for trade union membership [vinculacion] should have been asked to speak, to express themselves at the meeting held on the 25th or 27th. It may have been held on Saturday the 27th. [an unidentified speaker tells Castro it was on Friday] our meeting was on Friday the 27th of June, right? Yes, the meeting was held in June and the comrades from the province were asked to think about all these points and questions, I think that they should be congratulated. It is now very opportune, -- more so not at this moment than ever before -- to discuss and resolve these problems because of political and economic reasons and even for the security of the revolution.

I think what our people have done over the past few years in defense is brilliant. A more recent act that the people have done brilliantly under difficult conditions is the last sugar harvest. It is true that we were aided by a final drought. I think that these have been two very positive acts that prove the force, capabilities, and possibilities of the revolution. I think that what the people are involved in now proves it even more.

At the end of 1984, a very important and strategic measure should have been taken in reference to the concept of development and the possibilities for development. It was stated in the speech given to middle-level students and the national assembly. The policy we should be following was stated, repeated, and reiterated as much as possible. That policy was stated at the third party congress.

I already mentioned changing the methods of planning. We should change the mechanism and develop the participation of all factors. An effort was made at the executive committee meeting. The central group made a great effort, I would say that it was a dignified work of the best quality. The work was developed by the central group. The state central organs developed the planning material, 5-year plan, this year's plan, and the perspective plan. It was a great and serious task. It was developed during the entire year of 1985.

At our congress when we still had not experienced the catastrophe of the hurricane... [changes thought] the hurricane was difficult, but I think we still could bear it. Then problems arose that coincided with the congress. They seemed very secure and they immediately failed after the congress when oil prices brutally fell and foreign currency rose by 40 or 50 [percent]. This added to the problem. We were lucky that the misfortune was not worse.

Right now we find ourselves [in a situation] negotiating and renegotiating. Of course, for the work that has been done since last year, all the efforts of 1985, it is unpleasant to find ourselves facing this problem. At this time it is also coinciding with this struggle, and I believe this struggle should prepare us better for any type of difficulty that might arise as a result of these situations. As I said, we are forced to work with much more efficiency, wisdom.

Well, I think what was stated in 1984 was of great importance. The effort made was very big. Now there is another battle. I think these will be two historical moments in the revolution, the end of 1984 and this year, 1986 when we become aware of all these problems and begin to combat them.

The most encouraging aspect of this is, as always, the peoples' reaction even though we make things badly, incorrectly, give poor orientation, and despite the fact that there are many normal workers who have great confidence in the revolution, party, and leadership. They recognize when something should be done well. This should be an experience. It should be correct. We ourselves have made mistakes.

What can we expect; that journalists should not make mistakes? What can we expect; that many people should not make mistakes when we ourselves have made errors We are responsible for establishing the guidelines. We have made things poorly.

We do not have reason to be surprised. Mistakes happen everywhere. Peasants, workers, and trade unions make mistakes. It created a scandal [campanada] in favor of economizing [economisismo], capitalism, and liberalism. I imagine that many people had their doubts. They probably said: Caramba! This is socialism.

Many people lose their confidence when they see and experience things. If I am a worker at Frank Pais [orthopedic hosptial], a nurse, masseur, or someone else who works there and I see many other calamities, that houses are needed as well as other problems, and I see that they are building a whirlpool [hidromasaje] there -- which I estimate will take 21 years to build -- I would be confused as to how to react [sentence as heard]. I would lose confidence because many other things are needed.

Fortunately, I imagine that people see the good with the bad. There are many bad things but there are many other things that do not have to be bad. In the capital, we confronted the problem of construction. Another important meeting was held. The Politburo met many hours analyzing the problems in Havana. They analyzed the problems of growing delinquency, the bums [merolicos], of the problems that exist, disorder, the breweries that are centers of conflict and irritation, growing deliquency, residency problems, the possible influence of socioeconomic problems on the growth of delinquency, loss of authority, delinquents, bums, and others that practically own the street. The Politburo met to elaborate a plan, measures to confront these things.

The question of the microbrigade was presented. We ruined the microbrigade because we wanted to. We broke away from the original premise. We assumed there would be no surplus of people. The brigade was never conceived. The microbrigades were never conceived. It was never an activity done with the energy or work force of a factory or done according to production needs. The microbrigrade was also considered plus work [plus trabajo]. "Plus work" means that everyone gives an extra 10 minutes. Instead of working 6 hours, one would work 6 hours and 10 or 15 minutes. Some factories were able to make it with plus work and many were able to make it without any plus work. They simply worked and possibly took better advantage of the work day and the surplus of people at the factory. This is how dozens of thousands of homes were made. At one time it was the only hope the country had to resolve the problem of homes and supposedly our capital ...[changes thought] remember some of us were distressed because we were asked for homes every day. Suddently there were no more requests. Occasionally, there was someone who wanted a house. The microbrigades were building homes. Dozens of thousands were built by the microbrigade workers.

These were created with plus work, but it is obvious that nothing can work with plus work when there is a surplus of people at the factory.

The microbrigade was eliminated under the premise that there should not be a surplus of people.

Now there is an even greater surplus. Only by using the workers who have no job but remain on the payroll [interuptos] and by taking advantage of the work day can we construct homes in the capital. Simply by using those two resources: Workers who have no jobs but remain on the payroll and better use of the work day.

In the 1970's, when we were trying to resolve the problem of homes, there were no enormous cement factories, the Karl Marx Factory did not exist. The Artemisa Factory did not exist. The Nuevitas extension did not exist. This plant gave us a capacity for an additional 3,000 tons of cement. The Antillana de Acero steelmill extension did not exist. The new factories and bathroom fixtures did not exist, neither did the new bathroom fixture factory in Oriente.

There were more resources, many more possibilities and nevertheless, the Republic's capital was left without a workforce. It was now critical, gentlemen. I want you to know that the Republic's capital has 1,960 [corrects himself] 1,794 construction workers to build homes. There could not be less... [changes thought] That is why those 22 buildings have been under construction for 4 years and could take another 10 before they are completed. There is no workforce. We were building 5,000 houses some of which had to be dedicated to defense and security. More than 25 percent of these homes were reserved for this. That leaves 4,000 home. That will not do even for homes on the outskirts. Not even for those who live in shelters.

For the first time in the entire history of the revolution, the problem of homes was being resolved by using a microbrigade of surplus workers.

In the name of the directorate of the economic system, in the name of the principles of Marxism, Leninism -- because this was the way the problem was stated -- the microbrigades had to be eliminated. They were eliminated, except for some who resisted this. There actually was no other solution. There was no other alternative.

What other alternative do we have than to revive the microbrigade? I repeat, if we add workers who have no job but are still on the payroll to the underutilization of the workday -- that is to say the potential earnings for an underutilized workday -- with surplus workers, there are enough to complete gigantic plan for building homes.

That was a large error. Unfortunately, we now do not have the material to let us all go simultaneously through the entire republic building homes.

Also, gentlemen, there was a similar concept with schools. Secondary and pre-university schools were a disgrace. Thanks to the secondary schools in the country, the country's citrus plan exists. The country now exports increasing quantities [of citrus] and has the potential to export hundreds of thousands, which would be impossible without the schools.

The theory that there was a surplus workforce, that there would be unemployment, and others, resulted in losing even the comprehensiveness of plans. During the time when schools, roads, and others things were being built, the plan, irrigation, everything was lost. The citrus plan was made but not the town. If the town was made the road was not. The road was made but the school was not. Each one was reversed. There was no state program to build roads, buildings, schools, irrigation, everything. All that was lost.

The schools were a disaster. Now we have to... [changes thought]. Jaguey has 500 caballerias of citrus. I do not know if it is 500 or more than 400 caballerias but it is approximately 500 caballerias. It does not have one home.

It does not have a school. I had to ask Comrade Luis de la Nuez, who went to Matanzas: Luis, organize two brigades, organize two construction brigades. Organize them within the peoples' government and we will begin to construct four schools a year.

Omani [not further identified] said: Include me in your plans because in this case we have agreed on a policy that does not allow social expenditures to grow. Nevertheless, social expenditures grew in 20 different ways. In addition to increased social expenditures, semiboarding school costs were added. I have always said: Be wary of the semiboarding schools.

A pre-university school in the country is a workforce to insure agricultural plans and thanks to that school, those agricultural plans exist. Sixteen schools can tend approximately 750 caballerias of citrus. There are people... [changes thought] Fernandez [not further identified] has people and now with measures intensifying or requiring more of education, the result is that more schools are needed. That was stated by the Havana Comrade and I repeat: They do not have enough schools.

After Hurricane Kate, Comrade Lazaro [not further identified] insistently asked me to do something for the construction of new schools. He told me about the comprehensive problems there, the problems that exist in that town. It is truly a beautiful plan. Many investments have been made. It has excellent land for quality citrus, which continues to be planted. But he said: I have students; I need schools.

I remember the time we built 100 schools in a year. I said, Omani, do you think we could do again what was done in Isle of Youth the way we are organized now? He said: Well, the truth is no. Could we build another Jaguey? Well, the truth is no. Could we build another Sola? Well, the truth is no. We cannot do anything. We have become impotent. It is a strange thing, a mess. It is as if we were stuck in a spider web, on taffy, or in a swamp. This is how we have ended up in matters of construction.

The brigades disappeared. They made the enterprises. That is correct. Microbrigades could have been incorporated into the enterprises. Now they are called groups of I do not know what, and no one knows what they are. To tell the truth, many times they are chaotic. In the same way... [changes thought] the microbrigades absolutely did not clash with the directorate of the economic system. The economic system, enterprises, and everything can use plus work, real plus work. If we took 100 percent advantage of the work day, and there was no surplus of workers, with plus work alone we could complete many construction projects. The workers would have to work one-half hour more, actually 1 hour more, to resolve the problem of homes, circles [of interest], or whatever the case may be, a polyclinic, or construction of a youth recreation center to combat delinquency.

What did we fall into? We fell into a mess. We were impotent to construct anything. I have already spoken about this and about what we are going to do, what we propose to do with the resources we have, and we will not over extend ourselves. We are going to make some brigades, if we have the materials, in the provinces. We are going to build schools with this workforce. We are going to revive the microbrigades. The workers who have common sense and a revolutionary conscience unanimously became aware that microbrigades did not do any harm to the economy of this country but on the contrary, the microbrigades helped resolve a very serious problem.

We began, I say let us begin again. Unfortunately, this time we cannot proceed slowly because we are going to begin in the capital with the sanitation program. What is happening in the capital is a disgrace. The capital cannot solve the problem itself. We got as far as Batabano building homes. The capital can only build up and in some cases there is a lot-by-lot study. Now we are separating the 4 family doctor homes. Now no one knows who owns the lots. There is a defect in this plan just as there is in the plan that Pepe [not further identified] gave me.

Many peasants held onto a piece of land. Workers held onto a piece of land for cultivation. It was permitted. It was allowed. Much indiscipline was tolerated and later it takes a lot of work to correct this.

Some of the resources we have are sufficient to begin solving some of these problems. We will begin with the capital. Do not be discouraged, we have always begun with the capital, and we have made every effort to take the useful and positive experiences to the rest of the country as soon as possible.

The family doctor program began here, also. Ten doctors were assigned to the Lawton suburb. However, Granma Province has already filled all the positions of family doctors on the mountains. Within a few months, Guantanamo Province will complete its quota of family doctors on the mountains and in the rural areas. Santiago de Cuba Province will complete its quota next year. All this began in the capital, and you see what has been done. We have begun many things in the capital, such as the microbrigades program, which began in the capital and later moved on to the rest of the country.

Solutions can always be found. I learned that there was a grave problem with the child care centers in Havana, and that no more could be built. What does a care center mean? More food, more chicken, more ham. It is a headache. Can we solve it? It looks as if it does not have a solution, yet it can be solved. Havana has 35,000 children in child care centers. That means more food, a little more milk, a little more cream cheese. By eliminating the late afternoon meal, we can feed another 35,000 children with almost the same amount of food. I have estimated that we will have to produce a little more milk. If we ask the agricultural sector, it can produce it with the same resources. If we say we need an additional 15 million liters of milk, they will produce them with effort.

Thus, without bankrupting the country, without aggravating the situation, if we have the resources in manpower, sand, rock, and cement to build the centers without bankrupting the country with additional rationing, the same 100,000 children we have today -- I have reached my figures based on 100,000 children -- if instead of 100,000 there were 200,000 and we eliminate the late afternoon meal, which is not needed when you give them a hearty morning snack, the noon meal, and an afternoon snack -- all this implies a little more milk -- it is possible to have child care centers for 200,000 children without bankrupting the country. I decided to build the centers, a program to build centers. We will begin here, which is what we have proposed, building a number of child care centers, polyclinics, housing for the family doctors. The microbrigades are the ones that have made the miracle possible.

I would like to know if someone present here can honestly say if the 506 consultation office/houses -- these are 506 dwellings, among other things, and a service to the population -- could have been built in any other way than the party did. It asked support from the work centers to build them, with the surplus personnel. Is there any enterprise in the country -- I do not know if there is any in the world -- which would have been able to build in 6 months in 506 different locations 506 consultation office/houses? Is there such an enterprise? Has it been invented? Can anyone show me that enterprise's table of organization? [Castro hits the desk] However, in a very simple manner the province's party, by giving instructions to the people's government and providing support, the two together are building the 506 consultation office/houses. It seems to be a miracle!

I would like to know what would have happened if we had asked the enterprises of the people's government and Construction Ministry to build 506 consultation office/houses in 506 different locations. At least it would have been 2, 3, or more years. It would have been a disaster, chaos. There are a total of 1,500 in the country.

I believe there are revolutionary, new, creative formulas. They must exist with a little imagination, determination, a little less mediocrity. There are formulas to solve those problems. Now we are trying to solve these problems. A few days ago I visited the Guanabacoa suburb and was able to observe this, what building an additional 500 houses means in Guanabacoa per year and the child care centers they need without bankrupting the country to get more food. [Castro hits the desk] When we finish providing the family doctors for the entire municipality in 2 more years, it will be a new revolutionary measure benefitting youngsters who work hard, who get a small salary of 200 pesos, and who have an excellent attitude.

I can remember that they pay the taxi fare when they take a patient to another doctor in an emergency situation. I met with them and told them: I want you to have a notebook and take note of all these expenses so that you can get reimbursed at the end of the month. We cannot accept that you pay for expenses when you receive a small salary. After 2 months I asked about it and was told that no one had presented the notebook, no one had charged, and no wants to charge or that they be reimbursed. After learning about it, none of the neighbors would allow them to do it. They have gained their love and confidence. The neighbors look after them and would never ask the doctor to pay for anything. They have an excellent attitude.

I ask myself if we have underestimated in certain cases and at the same time have overestimated our supposed wisdom, our supposed virtues. We have hidden the reality. We have not magnified things. I believe that in all this we must make an effort to overcome difficulties in a correct manner. As I said, we have a great party, which is a privilege. It is a revolutionary party. These are not uncalled-for praises, I do it because I believe it. We know that we have a great party, the conditions of our cadres, despite all these trash we have discussed, such as deviations, confusions of all kinds. We know we have a great party and a great people.

In recent days we have observed their reactions. What we have to do is very clear, in fact we are already doing it, such as the work of the party, of the state, of the congress, of the provinces, of mass organizations, everybody is involved in this battle. The pioneers were among the first to issue warnings, as well as the workers, women, and students. We have an enormous moral wealth, which made it possible for us to be stronger in defense, and has made it possible for us to face up to all these economic difficulties, whatever they might be. It has been a social and political work and it is very important that we do an economic work, and I believe we can do it.

As I said, we know what we have to do and how to do it, and we will continue to do it and discuss it. It seems to me it is notable and historic the manner in which this meeting of the Central Committee has developed. Over a period of days, many hours, we have worked very hard, but we had never held a meeting such as this, which has been fruitful, earnest, and profound. This meeting is the result of the third congress. During the meeting, the manner in which our central committee has been enriched was clearly expressed. Each congress we have has increasingly enriched our experiences as well as the collective experience of the Central Committee.

Here we have been witnesses of the really serious and deep way the problems have been discussed, in a very calm and serene way.

This is one more encouraging reason to believe that we have a good Central Committee at the head of a great party, a Central Committee worthy of that party. I do not believe I am mistaken if I say that we are going to leave this meeting with a great assurance, with great confidence, with great satisfaction. But we have to work; we have to continue with this effort. The press has to inform about this material in line with what we were talking about education matters, we have to inform the people about the meeting we have held, regarding the contents of the meeting, to consolidate the confidence of the people. We should not despair if some are impatient and are taking immediate measures. All these measures still need to be analysed more. They have to be examined further. We intend to put them into practice as soon as possible every time we agree on a course of action. There are many things which need to be done immediately. Many problems need to be solved. They have been discussed in assembly meetings, and we do not have to wait to begin applying measures that have been established to correct them. We now begin to get involved in more complex problems.

Salary policies have been established and need to be put into practice. Some of the most discussed topics were the work laws and their enforcement. We have to work on this, on the subject of quality, labor unions. Where they need to exist and eliminate them where they do not apply, or apply them correctly where they are incorrectly applied. Many of these problems can already be worked on.

We still have some things to be discussed such as working Saturdays. For the time being what we have to attempt to achieve is that people rally work on those Saturdays. We need to end the softy attitude, the lack of demands, and for people to really work on those Saturdays. We already discussed here on the subject of freelancing, independent work. We noted the dangers of multiple skilled workers, their advantages, how to use them. We have discussed many very useful ideas. They are going to be very useful when the commission begins to present its proposals to the Politburo so that it can begin making the necessary decisions. We are approaching the time that we need to make some decisions. We have to make them wisely by doing political work. I believe we will find solutions to everything and especially political solutions by discussing them at length with workers.

The people's mood is good. The workers responses are good. We have mentioned once and will have to repeat 20 more times that this is not a campaign, this is a big battle, a big process, a big continuous struggle. Because after we begin to solve many of these things, we will have to watch closely how they behave. We have to strengthen them. I am sure that we will find the formulas. I am also sure that what Lazaro said is going to happen. We are going to obtain a victory from these difficulties. I am sure we are going to be strengthened in the same way we have with each and every one of the problems we have had throughout the course of the revolution. Reagan's threats have strengthened us. I believe we are going to take advantage of all these things. It was a great lesson that shows us that there are things that we cannot fool around with, that are too serious, too sacred and cannot be left unattended. I believe we are not working only for ourselves, we are working for the general cause of socialism. Socialism has been accumulating experiences, but it has also accumulated mistakes. We are not going to invent anything new. We are not going to experiment. We are going to correct all the things that are wrong. We are going to take everything good from the positive experiences we have had, and we are going to do it in the way it was suggested in the assembly meeting, calmly, patiently, wisely, without hurried decisions, without extremes. We have to avoid extremes. Any extreme on this can harm corrective actions. Any mistake we make now is going to harm corrective actions. We do not need to hurry. This is why I am glad that Comrade Veiga asked the labor unions to wait. They have to continue to wait so that once we have clear and exact ideas about what we should do regarding freelancing, then we decide what we are going to do and do it. We have to decide what we will authorize, what should not be authorized, why, how it is going to be carried out.

I am referring to independent workers. The matter of freelancing, as Panchito said, all those things that comrades have said, we need to continue gathering information, ask for everybody's opinion. We need to know how we should control that, how to do it. I do not believe that we should go back to what we had before. We should note the positive efforts it could have, the negative ones. But we have to discover the formula. We should use the positive things if they are found, if it provides a little flexibility to workers. But we also have to adopt measures to put an end to all the extravagant or negative things freelancing could have, which guarantees an equitable distribution of work. I also believe that the situation of some provinces -- and I have mentioned this many times -- forces us to give special attention to employment. Because although I said that nowadays the problem of employment is not the most serious one, there are other ones, there are other things. It was the inability of beginning Santiago's factory operations and all these problems we have talked about. Since we are confident that all these problems are going to be solved, we have to look at all those paces where the employment situation is serious. We have to make efforts to think -- considering the matters Comrade Lage talked about and considering some of the suggestions he made -- about what to do in places such as Jibara, in Granma. We continue to struggle. While we struggle against unemployment by building factories or making any kind of plans, we have to guarantee that those factories operate, that they work, that they are productive.

In the 5-year plan there are investments planned in Santiago de Cuba, Guantanamo. Two furniture factories are being built in Guantanamo. A spare parts factory is being planned. We have completed the one in Granma, and we have to build the one in Santiago. There are still things that the country needs. I believe that if we make efforts, we can find a formula that alleviates the crisis situation in connection with unemployment which exists in certain specific areas. The formula should not consist of bringing the people from Oriente to Havana because we are going to increase the capital's calamities. I believe Havana has to take care of its construction problems by itself, with its own energy, with its own sweat. It can do it. Especially with that sweat which is being wasted nowadays everywhere. It is being wasted.

I believe that what we have discussed about the press is also important. Criticism is only part of it. I talked about it. I do not have to say more. I believe the journalists congress will be very important, and I believe we will find adequate formulas to give a definite answer -- much as possible -- to the role of the press in the building and development of socialism. The bourgeois pride themselves on appearing to have freedom of the press, and I actually believe that if we are going to speak about courage, a revolutionary person has much more courage.

If we refer to moral values, the revolutionary person has many more moral values.

Comrades, I believe that with these ideas I have summed up my impressions, I have given the main conclusions of the meeting. Let's continue waging the battle. Let's get ready for the second half of this period. Let's see what can be discussed in the next plenum regarding what we have done, about the progress we have made. We have to systematically work every day with the party members, youths, workers, women, with mass organizations in general. From time to time we are going to be checking what we have done. We are going to have a discussion period, I believe between now and the next plenum, and before the next plenum a very important meeting will be held. It is about everything related to the conclusions of the congress. Progress is being made in the program's discussion process. It is also going to be a very important time. I believe that at that time -- 2 December, the first days of December -- we are going to have a much clearer idea, more exact idea, and possibly a number of measures will have already been taken.

We will approve the program. It will be a good time. Maybe we will have to do some touch-up work considering all these things. I believe that the time of the conclusions of the congress could be the turning point of this struggle. We will continue holding assembly meetings next year to see how much progress we have made regarding this in a year's time. We will hold our plenum again within a year. I believe that within a year we will have made considerable progress. I am confident that when we meet again we will have great successes and few mistakes. [applause]

FIDEL CASTRO TOURS SANCTI SPIRITUS PROJECTS

FL281134 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, party first secretary and president of the Councils of State and Ministers, has toured Sancti Spiritus projects built in honor of the 26 July holiday. Fidel inaugurated the 774-bed Camilo Cienfuegos Provincial Teaching Hospital and visited the medical sciences faculty, a sports school, the Yayabo River cleaning project, the new airport, an aqueduct which will supply water to the provincial capital, and a maternity hospital.

FIRE REPORTED AT MINSAP, PRENSA LATINA OFFICES

FL290100 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 29 Jul 86

[Text] Early this afternoon a fire of medium proportions broke out in the protocol hall of the third floor of the Ministry of Public Health [Minsap] at 23d and N Streets, in the Vedado. Soon after the fire began, combined firefighting forces evacuated residents and persons employed in the main offices of PRENSA LATINA.

Technicians in charge of the investigation are continuing their work; they will soon issue a report on the causes of the fire. There have been no injuries or loss of life.

SECRETARIAT MEMBER CROMBET ARRIVES IN USSR

FL281449 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1402 GMT 29 Jul 86

[Text] As part of his tour throughout several socialist countries, Communist Party of Cuba Secretariat member Jaime Crombet today arrived in Moscow on an official visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. Crombet will remain in the USSR until 10 August, when he will leave for the GDR. He has already visited the CSSR, Hungary, and Bulgaria, where he held talks with political leaders and officials.

BLANCO VISITS PUERTO RICO DESPITE PROTESTS

PA261732 Paris AFP in Spanish 0154 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Santo Domingo, 25 Jul (AFP) -- Dominican President Salvador Jorge Blanco flew to Puerto Rico today for a 36-hour visit which the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) has harshly criticized.

The Dominican president will participate in ceremonies marking the 34th anniversary of the creation of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The president was invited by Rafael Harnandez Colon, Puerto Rican governor and friend of Blanco.

It was officially reported that a retinue of government officials, newsmen, and special guests will accompany the president.

The PIP, a member of the Socialist International, as is Blanco's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), maintains traditional ties of understanding with the PRD. It publicly chastised the Blanco visit, claiming that it endorses "the colonial status of Puerto Rico."

A PIP envoy, Luis Rivera, who was sent to give the PRD the text of the declaration against Salvador Jorge Blanco, was delayed at the Santo Domingo International Airport and then sent back to Puerto Rico. This action prompted even harsher criticism by the PIP.

PRD President Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, a friend of PIP President Senator Ruben Berrios, asked him to work to prevent protests against Salvador Jorge Blanco during his stay in Puerto Rico.

BALAGUER IN U.S. FOR EYE CHECKUP

PA281607 Paris AFP in Spanish 0103 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Text] Santo Domingo, 27 Jul AFP) -- Dominican President-elect Joaquin Balaguer traveled to the United States unexpectedly this afternoon, to Boston, where he will undergo an eye checkup.

In a brief bulletin, Balaguer's Social Christian Reformist Party announced the departure, even though until noon it was being reported that the trip had been cancelled.

The president-elect is accompanied by his nephew, Joaquin Ricardo, political secretary of the Social Christian Reformist Party; leader Guaro Liranzo; and his new personal assistant, Minu Torres. The party did not state how long Balaguer will stay in the United States, but the stay must be brief because he takes office on 16 August.

The bulletin did not indicate whether Balaguer will meet with Ronald Reagan during his stay.

BRIEFS

MARIJUANA SHIPMENT SEIZED -- Santo Domingo, 13 Jul (EFE) -- Dominican naval officials have seized a marijuana shipment valued at 8 million Dominican pesos, approximately $3 million. Vice Admiral Victor Manuel Barjan Mufdi said that the marijuana was found aboard a Colombian ship. The Gulf Amster II only the value was disclosed, which is approximately $3 million. [Summary] [Madrid EFE in Spanish 1500 GMT 13 Jul 86 PA]

TRINIDAD-TOBAGO

MINISTER ON COMMONWEALTH ROLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

FL281127 Bridgetown CANA in English 2024 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Text] Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, July 27, CANA -- the Commonwealth grouping may well have a role to play in the reconstruction of South African society when it achieves peace, according to Trinidad and Tobago's External Affairs Minister Errol Mahabir.

Mahabir made the comment in an interview with the TRINIDAD GUARDIAN newspaper published yesterday. His remarks came at a time when the usefulness of the Commonwealth is being questioned.

The current disagreement over South Africa may be a conflict of principle over the direction that the Commonwealth should take against the apartheid regime but is should not be viewed as a fundamental and irreconcilable difference of opinion, said Mahabir.

He pointed to the technical, legal, advisory,and disursory links between the 49-member grouping weighed against the boycott of the Commonwealth Games more than 25 countries are now staging protesting Britain's refusal to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

Whatever the difficulties and conflicts that the organisation is currently experiencing over this matter, it is nevertheleess more likely to provide effective action against South Africa than an organisation such as the United Nations where the majority can sometimes be overturned by the interests of a minority, he commented.

In this context, Mahabir continued, it therefore seems counter-productive to advocate the dissolution of the Commonwealth on the grounds that one member of the 49 member states is out of step with the rest of the association on one issue.

This is especially important given the role that the Commonwealth may yet be able to play in the reconstruction of South Africa society once peace has been brought to that troubled country.

Parliamentary opposition leader, Basded Panday, told the paper that the grouping should put the maximum pressure on Britain to induce sanctions.

I don't think withdrawing is the idea, said Panday.

Expelling Britain might be better.

I am not too happy over the enormous overriding influence on developed Commonwealth countries over developing Commonwealth countries which contain the greater part of the Commonwealth population, said Matthew Ramcharan, Commonwealth Parliamentary, Association [CPA] Executive Committee member.

Ramcharan is also co-chairman of the local branch of the CPA and speaker of the house of representatives.

It is time that the equal partnership in the Commonwealth should show itself and that the voice of the majority should be predominant, he said.